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Word order tendencies in mediaeval English against the Indo-European background

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Introduction

The aim of the book

The principal aim of the book[1] is to discuss diachronic word order tendencies in the English language in the context of some Indo-European languages. We take into account selected prose texts taken from the two large periods of the history of English, namely Old English and Middle English, and we make a detailed analysis of their word order structure. The central point of our analysis is the change from OV to VO in the history of English word order. We try to establish when this change took place, what the difference was between the behaviour of nominal and pronominal objects in the change, how much external influence there might have been in the change, and what was actually responsible for the change. This analysis has been greatly facilitated by the computer-based tagged corpus that we constructed in order to be able to investigate the word order phenomena that are of interest to us. The construction of our own tagged corpus for the analysis of word

[1] We would like to note the fact that some parts of the book have already been published in the form of articles which we include in the bibliography at the and. We also give special credit to the original publishers of: Kida I., 2010: 'How Norman-French hindered the development of English word order towards VO'. In: Fisiak J., ed.: *Studies in English Mediaeval Language and Literature*, Vol. 25: Imayahashi O., Nakao Y., Ogura M., eds: *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature, Selected Papers Read at SHELL 2009, Hiroshima*. Frankfurt am Main—Berlin—Bern—Bruxelles—New York—Oxford—Wien: Peter Lang 2010, pp. 285—291; Kida I., 2007: 'The construction of a tagged corpus and the investigation of the change from OV to VO in English'. In: *Academic Papers of College of Foreign Languages. Vol. 4: Linguistics*. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo WSL, pp. 82—85.

order changes also enabled us to take into account the entire texts of some manuscripts, like that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (both the Parker and the Peterborough Manuscript) and the Old English *Orosius*, as well as some lengthy samples of other texts. Moreover, thanks to the tagged corpus we were able to make a parallel comparison of those texts. Apart from the presentation of the results that we obtained, we also present, and this is one of the crucial points of this book, the way in which we constructed the corpus itself. We hope that due to the fact that we focused only on prose texts, and that they were quite lengthy, we were able to obtain more objective results as to the phenomena of word order change in English. Although the word order changes that took place within two large periods of time in the history of English were of our main concern, we situated them within the broader historical context of word order changes that extends from the Proto-Indo-European period up to the late Middle Ages. This wider context was meant to provide some background for the analysis of the changes in English word order so as to avoid their being treated in isolation, as we believe that if a given problem is placed into a larger context, it can be understood better and more objectively.

The structure of the book

The book consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 starts with a short outline of the most influential word order theories, and then we discuss the way in which we constructed the tagged corpus for different texts, both English and non-English, that we used in our analysis of word order changes. The purpose of the discussion is to demonstrate how one can create one's own tagged corpus for a systematic and large-scale approach to the phenomena of word order change. We would also like to encourage the construction of tagged corpora, as corpus linguistics is a very recent phenomenon and comparatively little has been done in this field. However, by the demonstration of how a tagged corpus can be constructed we do not mean to suggest that it is the best corpus for the analysis of word order changes. On the contrary, we leave a lot of space for the reader's creativity in the construction of his own tagged corpus, and what we hope to do is to somehow guide him through this task. By the presentation we would also like to imply that in the construction of a tagged corpus it is necessary to choose criteria that will not be too numerous, too complicated and too elaborate, but which at the same time, by using a minimal number of codes, will allow one to encode as many syntactic structures as possible. In other words, we insist

that in the construction of a tagged corpus it is necessary to assume an economical, uniform and universal approach, because only then is it possible to reflect the true nature of language. Moreover, one of the basic features of our tagged corpus is that it takes into account the dynamic aspect of language change, that is, how language changes can be reflected in the corpus. In other words, it is a flexible corpus and, apart from being able to describe the synchronic state of word order, it also takes into account its diachrony. We explain the details of its flexibility while discussing parataxis and hypotaxis in Old English. Towards the end of the first chapter we give our own definition of the object, both direct and indirect, and we also discuss some problems that we encountered in the process of the construction of the tagged corpus.

In Chapter 2 we start with the discussion of the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European word order, and afterwards we concentrate upon the reconstructed Proto-Germanic word order. We try to arrive at our own conclusions as to what it might have looked like. In order to do that we perform an analysis of quite a large number of runic inscriptions from all the three runic periods, and we analyse them for word order, namely for the position of the object, both nominal and pronominal, with respect to the verb, and for the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena. Apart from that, we take some prose texts written in the oldest Germanic languages (Gothic, Old High German and Old English) and analyse them for their word order structure. Since these texts are translations of the Bible, we also do a parallel analysis of their counterparts in the languages from which they were translated, that is Latin and Greek. Such an analysis allows us to establish, on the one hand, to what extent the word order in Gothic was influenced by Greek, and, on the other, to what extent the word order in Old High German and Old English were influenced by Latin. Afterwards, we make a parallel comparison of all the data that we obtain from all of the texts. Towards the end of Chapter 2 we discuss Proto-Germanic word order as implied by our analysis. One of the most interesting observations, contrary to what has generally been claimed, is that Proto-Germanic word order was basically VO as far as the position of the nominal object with respect to the verb is concerned.

Having established some ground for further discussion concerning the diachrony of word order change in Germanic languages, in Chapter 3 we discuss the Old English word order. We start the discussion with what some authors tell us with respect to that, and afterwards we get down to our own analysis of some Old English prose texts. We concentrate upon the analysis of the word order found in the Old English *Orosius*, Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. As for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we analyse two manuscripts, the Parker Manuscript and the Peterborough Manuscript, up to the entry for 1066 and compare the results. One of the

most interesting observations here is that, although the Peterborough Manuscript is a northern copy of a chronicle written in the West Saxon dialect, and thus is 'more modern' as regards word order because the northern dialects of English were generally more VO, one can find in it the reflexion of the word order changes that were going on in the West Saxon dialect. Towards the end of Chapter 3 we perform an analysis of a sample of *Heimskringla*, an Old Norse text, and bearing in mind the data that we obtain from its analysis, as well as from the analysis of the runic inscriptions coming from the second period, i.e. the Viking Age, we try to establish to what extent the word order in English was influenced by Old Norse. One of our observations here is that Old Norse played an enormous role in the development of VO word order in English.

In Chapter 4 we concentrate mostly upon Early Middle English and Late Middle English texts. We begin by analysing the entries 1067—1121 of the *Peterborough Chronicle* and then we analyse the two remaining parts of it, namely the First Continuation and the Second Continuation. Although the entries 1067—1121 are still written in Old English, we thought it a good idea to analyse them before a further analysis of the *Peterborough Chronicle* in order to see the contrast between these entries and the two Continuations where noticeable gradual changes in the spelling, vocabulary and word order can be observed. After the analysis of the Peterborough Manuscript, we analyse the texts of *Juliana*, *Ancrene Wisse*, the *Prose Treatises* of Richard Rolle, the *Astrolabe* of Geoffrey Chaucer, and some fragments of Wycliffe's *Bible*. This analysis allows us to trace some further novelties in the changing English word order to VO. Towards the end of Chapter 4 we discuss the possible influences of Anglo-Norman upon the development of VO word order in English. This discussion is based on the analysis of two texts written in Anglo-Norman, namely *Foedera* and the *Oxford Psalter*. One of the most interesting observations here is that Anglo-Norman had many more OV word order configurations than the English language at that time. This observation refers especially to the position of the pronominal object with respect to the verb. Although Anglo-Norman was OV to quite a large extent, it nevertheless boosted the further development of VO word order structures in English but in a different way than Old Norse did.

In Chapter 5 we make a summary of the word order analysis that we did in the previous chapters and we try to arrive at some conclusions that this analysis offers. The aim of this summary is to discover some regularity in the change from OV to VO in English word order. This regularity, however, can only be observed on the basis of a conscious selection of only a few analysed texts dating from different periods in the history of English and not on the basis of all of the texts that we analysed. The texts that did not fit this regularity very well are simply disregarded here, but this does not mean that

they should be considered as being of secondary importance, as they offer very interesting results that are discussed in their analysis at different points of the book. Apart from the summary and the general conclusions that we make, we also discuss the problem of what kind of clauses, main or dependent, were the locus of the spread of VO word order patterns in the English language. Along with mentioning what some linguists tell us with respect to this problem, we also provide our own views.

Chapter 1

Forming an annotated corpus

1.1. Outline of word order theories

In this section we will give a short outline of the basic works concerned with the notion of word order change. We will start with the end of the nineteenth century and finish with the period closer to the present day. Since we have not had a direct access to many of the books, we are going to draw on some secondary sources and organise this section the way that can be found there. We are not going to make a detailed description of the works on word order but will just mention the most influential authors and the basic points of their views. For a more detailed discussion of the problem in question we kindly refer the reader to authors like Bean (1983), McMahon (1994) and Denison (1993). The last one is of a particular interest, as he gives a comprehensive description and criticism of the theories concerning word order change in English and other languages. In Bean (1983), on the other hand, one can find some information about the earliest systematic approaches to the phenomenon of word order, which are not always mentioned in other works. As for McMahon (1994), apart from a short outline of some syntactic theories, one can find there much information concerning sound changes, morphological changes, sociolinguistics, dialectology, and other aspects which basically concern the English language.

We will start our discussion with the ideas expressed by Henry Weil (1887). As Bean points out, Weil was one of the early writers on the subject of word order and he claimed that 'because we try to trace in words the faithful image of thought, the order of words ought to reproduce the order of ideas; these two orders ought to be identical' (Weil 1887: 21; after Bean

1983: 18). Moreover, he characterized the topic/comment order of words as a situation whereby the speaker needs to 'lean on something present and known, in order to reach out to something less present, nearer, or unknown. There is then a point of departure, an initial notion which is equally present to him who speaks and to him who hears, which forms, as it were, the ground upon which the two intelligences meet; and another part of discourse which forms the statement' (Weil 1887: 29; after Bean 1983: 18). Weil's idea of topic/comment is further developed by McKnight (1897) and the Prague School of Linguistics (PSL). Bean (1983: 19) says that McKnight, on the one hand, speaks of 'subjective' order of words to refer to functional (topic-comment) ordering relationships, and, on the other, of 'objective' word order to refer to grammatical (SVO) ordering relationships. As for the PSL, they came up with the idea of the functional sentence perspective (FSP), which causes the sentence to open with elements that are thematic, and close with elements that are rhematic. Moreover, whereas the FSP can account for the ordering of elements in Czech, in English the ordering of elements can be accounted for by a principle of grammatical function. Furthermore, coming back to Weil's ideas, according to Bean, 'Weil was also aware of the fact that some languages are characterized by the use of prepositions, SVX and Noun-Modifier order while others are characterized by postpositions, SXV and Modifier-Noun order. Moreover, these are the two "extreme points between which languages may oscilate. It is, on the one hand, the order […] which places the qualifying word after the word qualified […] on the other, the order which places first the governed word, then the governing."' (Weil 1887: 56; after Bean 1983: 18). This view was further developed by Joseph Greenberg's 1963 study of word order universals. Greenberg's cross-linguistic study of word order universals included 30 languages and was intended to establish some word order implicational universal tendencies on the basis of three criteria. One of these was the presence of prepositions or postpositions, another was concerned with the relative order of subject, object and verb, and the third had to do with the position of the qualifying adjective with respect to the governing noun (after Bean 1983). According to Greenberg's study, the use of prepositions, the use of the genitive before the noun, the VS word order, the VO word order, and the placement of the modifying adjective after the noun are harmonic with each other, as are features like the use of postpositions, the use of the genitive after the noun, the employment of SV and OV word orders, and the placement of the modifying adjective in front of the noun. Greenberg's ideas were further developed by Lehmann (1972a) and Vennemann (1973). Whereas Greenberg did not ascribe all the ordering relationships to the influence of the position of the object with respect to the verb, Lehmann claimed that the use of the verb-object order in language learning forms the basis for a generalization that covers the order of all gov-

erning-governed relationships, but he later somewhat modified his views and claimed that the verb-object order was not of primary importance (after Bean 1983). Vennemann, on the other hand, unlike Lehmann, maintained the view that the position of the object with respect to the verb determined other relations in language. He came up with the notion of the Natural Serialisation principle according to which the position of any modifying element (operator) with respect to the element it modifies (operand) is regulated by the position of the object with respect to the verb. In other words, the operand-operator relationship is serialised according to the serialisation displayed by the verb with respect to the object. This can be illustrated in the following way:

[Operator [Operand]] in OV languages
(Operator (Operand))
[[Operand] Operator] in VO languages

Furthermore, according to Vennemann (1973: 25; after Bean 1983: 26), 'languages develop cyclically from morphology with few grammatically functional word order rules to word order with few morphological rules and back again, with sound change being the causal factor throughout.' As far as the Serialisation Principle is concerned, Hawkins (1979: 644—645; after McMahon 1994: 152) does not assume that all operators of a given language must be serialised on one side of their operands, and he instead proposes the Principle of Cross-Category Harmony (CCH), according to which 'there is a quantifiable preference, across languages, for the ratio of preposed to postposed operators within one operand category to generalize to the other operand categories.' Moreover, he introduces the idea of the Mobility Principle, which predicts that certain specifible modifiers will deviate from the serialisation pattern characteristic of a given language before other modifiers. Apart from that, he formulates the Heaviness Serialisation Principle, which states that the lighter the modifiers tend to be, the more likely they are to appear on the left of their phrase (McMahon 1994). Lightfoot (1979; after McMahon 1994), on the other hand, proposes the so-called Transparency Principle, which is part of the theory of grammar, and which controls the amount of opacity, or exceptionality, that can be tolerated by a grammar. In other words, it controls the amount of abstractness that may build up in the syntax. When the abstractness, or opacity, exceeds the permitted level of complexity, it violates the Transparency Principle, which in turn requires a radical reanalysis in the grammar, whereby the underlying structures are brought closer to their surface structures and the abstractness becomes reduced or eliminated. Furthermore, after the deep change in the grammar takes place, it results in the emergence of a whole series of simultaneous changes in different parts of the grammar of a language.

So far we have spoken of word order theories that do not refer to any particular language but to language in general. There are naturally a number of other word order theories but we have mentioned only the ones that are of particular interest to us and that are often cited by different authors. Moreover, in our book we are going to follow some of the ideas contained in the theories and we will extend them by our own reflexions and results. Below, we present some of the word order theories that apply basically to the English language.

One of the most interesting observations for our purposes are those made by Reszkiewicz (1966), as what he said about English word order has been confirmed by our own investigations. According to Reszkiewicz, the order of elements in Old English was determined by the weight, or size of the elements. In other words, the elements that are light (like pronouns, for example) tend to be placed earlier in a clause, whereas heavy elements (like NPs and dependent clauses) tend to be placed later in a clause. So the heavier the elements, the more likely are they to appear towards the end of a clause. It is because pronouns tend to be the 'given' information, which is normally mentioned first, whereas heavier elements, and especially clauses tend to contain a high load of new information, which in turn is normally placed last in the speech. Another interesting theory concerning word order change in English is that proposed by Vennemann (1974). He suggests 'a development from SXV to SVX via TVX as a general diachronic process but with obvious application to the history of English' (after Denison 1993: 41). Such development became necessary when the subject and object in SOV word order configurations were not distinguished morphologically. However, the change from SOV to SVO was not an immediate one, and thus Vennemann proposes an intermediate stage of TVX. When the case marking fell, ambiguity was likely to result as to what was the subject vs object in a sentence where word order served the pragmatic function of establishing topic-comment relationships. Therefore, such ambiguities needed to be resolved by placing the verb in the second position, and in this way the topic (which was usually the subject) was left in the first position before the verb. After the establishment of the TVX stage, the way towards the SVX stage was easy because topics are most likely to be identified with subjects. Due to the frequent use of S in the T position, the TVX stage was reinterpreted as SVX or SVO. In this way, subjects were now initial in the unmarked word order, and if one wished to topicalize an object, one had to put it before the subject rather than in place of it. A somewhat related theory to that of Vennemann is the one proposed by Stockwell (1977) according to whom the development of the SVO word order in English went through five stages. What happened in the first stage was that, due to the vividness of action described, the finite verb of the SO(V)v configuration was fronted to produce 'Comment Focusing' which resulted

in the vSO(V) configuration. Next, the newly obtained configuration was turned into xvSO(V) due to the process of topicalization or the placement of explicit linking words towards the initial slot in the context of a heightened vividness of action; this stage resulted in V2 word order. Furthermore, since the topic is very often expressed by the subject, this stage, which can also be illustrated as TvX(X), resulted in SvX(V) or SvO(V) word orders. In the next stage, the auxiliary and the main verb were reunified via the process of 'exbraciation' which eliminated nominal and adverbial elements towards the right from within the brace [v…V], which in turn resulted in Sv(V)X or Sv(V)O word orders. Kohonen (1978; after Denison 1993) offers us a somewhat different picture of word order change in English. He suggests the following development: SXVv > SXvV > SvXV/vSXV > SvVX. According to Kohonen, the SXV word order began to collapse in main clauses first but the development of SVX word order then became faster in subordinate clauses due to the fact that main clauses retained the XVS order for a time. Moreover, Kohonen claims that sentence constituents in Old English generally tended to be arranged in a given-new perspective, and new elements, especially in main clauses, appeared to be the first to move to the right of the verb. However, Kohonen remarks that this was not the only factor that was responsible for the shift from SXV to SVX. Colman (1988; after Denison 1993) claims that the V-F (verb final) word order was predominant in Early Old English and such word order can easily cause particular perceptual problems. However, a solution to these problems was the use of Extraposition and Heavy Argument Shift, due to which the (S)XV word order was turned into (S)VX. Later, such rightward movement was generalized from heavy arguments to the ones that were light, that is, pronouns. Consequently, this process led to the grammaticalization of the SVX word order. According to Danchev (1991; after Denison 1993), the establishment of the SVO word order and the reduction of morphology in Middle English were predictable outcomes of the fact that Middle English was a partly creolised language. Moreover, the SVO word order was established because it is generally more iconic, simpler and less marked than SOV and other word orders.

There are a number of other word order theories (see e.g. Kroch, Taylor 2000; Roberts 2007), which we are not going to mention here, and whose detailed discussion and criticism can be found in the sources that we mentioned at the beginning of this section, as well as in a number of others. We just wanted to acquaint the reader briefly with what has been done in the area of word order theory, making special reference to the word order changes in the English language. Moreover, this short survey of word order theories will serve as the starting point of our own investigations, which are meant to contribute to those theories, complement them, and establish some new paths in the field of the investigation of word order tendencies in English. What

needs to be added is that the majority of the theories, as well as our own investigations suggest that a definite change from OV to VO in English word order took place sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

1.2. Forming our own corpus for the analysis of word order changes

1.2.1. Introduction

The construction of parsed text corpora is a very recent phenomenon and not much work has been done in this area, not to mention corpora used for the investigation of word order changes. Without such corpora it is not very easy to investigate larger samples of texts which would allow one to look more objectively at the processes going on in word order throughout time. That is to say, the more texts that have been parsed for analysis, the more objectively will one be able to tackle the problem of word order changes. In constructing a parsed corpus the researcher is left with a lot of freedom with respect to how to construct a given corpus, as it is typical of any text that it offers a wide range of possibilities as to what needs to be investigated. In our book we are mostly concerned with the changes in word order, and, to be more precise, with the change from OV to VO in English in the Indo-European context. By saying 'Indo-European context' we imply that the changes in English word order will not be analysed in isolation but will be placed in a larger context for reasons of comparison in order to establish the background for further investigation, and in order to look for some possible influences upon word order in English on the part of some Indo-European languages that could, and most likely did play an important part in the word order changes in the English language. In constructing our own corpus we chose such criteria that would be few in number, but that would at the same time be capable of describing as wide a range of word order phenomena as possible. Moreover, we tried to construct our corpus in such a way as to make it easy to follow by an audience which is at least familiar with the basic concepts of descriptive grammar. In other words, we struggled to make our analysis as economical, as uniform, and as simple as possible. It was not easy to do so because we took into account quite a large range of texts representing languages like Gothic, Old High German, Latin, Greek, Old Norse, Old French and others, and it is not a secret that every

language has its own peculiarities, so one needs to be aware of the fact that while some criteria apply very well to one language, they might not apply equally well to another.

Using one of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts, namely the *Peterborough Chronicle*, we will illustrate how we constructed our corpus.

1.2.2. Tags used in the corpus

We will start by listing the tags that we used in our corpus:
+S+ — nominal subject
+s+ — pronominal subject
+DO+ — nominal direct object
+do+ — pronominal direct object
+IO+ — nominal indirect object
+io+ — pronominal indirect object
+do(rf)+ — direct object reflexive/reciprocal pronoun
+io(rf)+ — indirect object reflexive/reciprocal pronoun
+…(in)+ — 'intransitive' object (i.e. the object of an intransitive verb)
+p…+ — prepositional object
+V+ — inflected verb
+prpt+ — present participle
+papt+ — past participle
+inf+ — infinitive
+toinf+ — *to*-infinitive
+X+ — adjunct, negative participle
+*+ — tag of a dependent clause/phrase
+=+ — tag of a main clause/phrase
+con=+ — tag of a main clause/phrase preceded by a connector
+con*+ — tag of a dependent clause/phrase preceded by a connector

paratax 1/hypotax 1 (referring only to dependent clauses):
…+scon*+…,…+docon*+…,…+iocon*+…,…+xcon*+…

paratax 2/hypotax 2 (referring to both main and dependent clauses):
…+s,con*+…,…+do,con*+…,…+io,con*+…,…+x,con*+…

+con]*+ — dependent clause after *and*, *or*, etc., where the subordinating connector is mentioned earlier

1.2.3. The main clause

First of all we should mention that all main clauses are tagged with the equals mark '='. Let us take the following sentence for a start:

(1.1) Hering Hussan sunu lædde þone here ðider

ChronE 603/5

+=+S+V+DO+X+,[2]

The above sentence is a main clause of the SVO type which starts with the subject followed by an inflected main verb that selects a direct object which in turn is followed by an adjunct. Now we present a main clause with an indirect object present:

(1.2) se cyng geaf heora land **þam mannum**

ChronE 1087/80

+=+S+V+DO+**IO**+,

If a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object were expressed by a pronoun, then we tagged them as small '+s+', '+do+', and '+io+' respectively, as presented below:

(1.3) Ac **we** gyt næfdon þa geselða ne þone wurðscipe

ChronE 1009/5

+con=+**s**+X+V+DO+,

(1.4) Þa gewarnode man **hi** þet þær wæs fyrd æt Lundene ongean

ChronE 1009/45

+=+X+V+S+**do**+X+,

(1.5) & **him** man sealde gislas of ælcere scire

ChronE 1013/6

+con=+**io**+S+V+DO+X+,

The subject in the sentence below was also treated as small '+s+':

(1.6) **Ic** Ædgar geate & gife todæi toforen Gode

ChronE 963/23

+=+**s**+V+X+,

[2] In our annotated version of the texts all clauses (both main and dependent) are separated by commas no matter if in corresponding unannotated texts the clauses are separated by commas, full stops, or semi-colons, etc.

However, we are conscious of the fact that it is a complex subject but since its pronominal element is mentioned first and the nominal one goes second, we treated the whole of it as small '+s+'. If, on the other hand, the complex subject was of the configuration that the nominal element went first and the pronominal one went second, we treated the whole of it as big '+S+'. Moreover, the suppletive subject in the sentence below was tagged as '+s+', too:

(1.7) Ða gewearð **hit** on þisum ilcan timan

ChronE 1009/7

+=+X+V+**s**+X+,

As can be noticed, every single element is separated by the 'plus' mark. Such a procedure standardizes the construction of the corpus and is meant to facilitate the searches of the word order patterns that one is interested in, as well as to avoid counting unnecessary elements from the text that accompanies the tags we employed. Such standardization also allows one to search all the word order patterns that display the same configuration; moreover, it is very easy to find and substitute all of the elements of the same type, say '+s+', or '+DO+', etc., by a simpler element like '+S+', and '+O+', respectively, without unnecessarily substituting the letters from the accompanying text. Below are two sentences that are main clauses and both of them are introduced by a coordinating connector tagged as '+con=+':

(1.8) **&** se cyng geaf þet biscoprice on Lundene Sparhafoc abbot of Abbandune, **&** se cyng geaf abbotrice Roðulfe biscop his mæge

ChronE 1048/3

+**con**=+S+V+DO+IO+X+,+**con**=+S+V+DO+IO+,

The information that is hidden behind the 'X's is not necessary when the frequency of the appearance of the object either before or after the verb is investigated, because all of the 'X's will be eliminated in order to reduce the range of word order configurations, which facilitates the searches. However, they, and especially the initial ones, are necessary as far as the investigation of the verb-second phenomenon (V2) is concerned. Thus the sentence configuration below will look as follows while we talk about V2, no elements being removed from it:

(1.9) Her **nam** Ædward cyng Godwines dohtor eorles him to cwene

ChronE 1043b/1

+=+X+**V**+S+DO+io+X+,

Conversely, it will be turned into '+=+V+DO+io+' while talking about the position of the object with respect to the verb. We did not make any dis-

tinction between auxiliary verbs and other finite verbs, and we decided to qualify all finite verbs as '+V+' no matter if they stood alone or if they were accompanied by some non-finite verb in the form of the past participle, the present participle, or the infinitive, as can be seen in the examples below:

(1.10) & hi **hæfdon** heora cining **aworpene**

ChronE 867/3

+con=+s+**V**+DO+**papt**+,

(1.11) he æfre þas leode mid here & mid ungylde **tyrwigende wæs**

ChronE 1100/11

+=+s+X+DO+X+**prpt**+**V**+,

(1.12) he **let** þærtoforan castelas **gemakian**

ChronE 1102/7

+=+s+**V**+X+DO+**inf**+,

In other words, if a verb was an inflected verb, we treated it as '+V+'. In this way more consistency was achieved and more economy introduced into the tagging procedure. However, we made a distinction between the 'bare infinitive' without 'to', and the so-called '*to*-infinitive'. Below are two sentences for comparison. The first one contains the 'bare infinitive' and the second one contains the '*to*-infinitive':

(1.13) Þa het se cyng **abannan** ut ealne ðeodscipe of Westseaxum & of Myrcean

ChronE 1006/7

+=+X+V+S+**inf**+DO+X+,

(1.14) & he þohte **to donne** be him eallswa Iudas Scarioth dyde be ure Drihtene

ChronE 1087/6

+con=+S+V+**toinf**+X+,

It should be noted that there is no sentence in the corpus that contains two finite verbs, or two subjects, or two direct objects, or two indirect objects. The non-finite verb forms can by no means be tagged as 'V's, because otherwise there would be much confusion in the investigation of the word order phenomena due to the fact that there would appear ambiguous word order configurations. To illustrate the problem let us take the following sentence:

(1.15) & he **let** þærinne castelas **weorcean**

ChronE 1114/3

+con=+s+**V**+X+DO+**inf**+,

In case the '+inf+' were converted to '+V+' there would be two possible word order configurations with respect to the direct object, namely VO, on the one hand, and OV, on the other, because after the elimination of 's+' and 'X+', we would be left with the configuration '+con=+V+DO+V+', which would not be very welcome in our investigation due to the fact that we would obtain two word order configurations with the same direct object: 'V+DO' and 'DO+V'.

1.2.4. The dependent clause

As for dependent clauses, we used identical procedures in the tagging of the sentence elements. There is, however, one important difference that distinguishes the dependent clause from the main one, namely all dependent clauses are tagged by the asterisk '*'. If a dependent clause is not introduced by any subordinating connector, then the asterisk stands alone within two plus-marks, as can be seen in the following example:

(1.16) betahten hit þa an munec **Saxulf wæs gehaten**

ChronE 654/9

+=+V+do+X+pIO+,+***+X+V+papt**+,

In Old English there are many sentences of the above type, where the subordinating connector *þe* is not mentioned but the sentence can be treated as if it were present there, as is the case with the following sentence:

(1.17) forþan þet ðær is an wæl **þe** is gehaten Medeswæl

ChronE 654/7

+con*+X+V+S+,+**con***+v+papt+X+,

Whenever a main clause was followed by two dependent clauses, and the two dependent clauses were introduced only by one subordinating connector at the beginning of the first dependent clause, and were connected by a coordinating connector, for example *and*, our practice was to tag the sentences the way no information was lost, as can be seen in the example below:

(1.18) Ðet wæs first seo kyning Wulfere **þe** þet feostnode first mid his worde **&** siððon mid his fingre gewrat on Cristes mel **&** þus cwæð…

ChronE 656/70

+=+s+V+X+,+**con***+do+V+X+,+**con]***+X+V+X+,+**con]***+X+V+…,

We treated such dependent clauses as if each of them were immediately preceded by the superordinate clause *Ðet wæs first seo kyning Wulfere þe…* In this way we were able to preserve all the information contained in the sentences, including the coordinating connector 'and', the information about the subordination being unaffected. The tag '+con]*+', in turn, can easily be converted to the tag '+*+', if one wished to. One can say that it can be argued whether the two last sentences are dependent or not, so if one decided that a given dependent clause following a coordinating connector should be treated as a main clause, then the tag '+con]*+' would need to be changed to '+con=+'. If we take the above example once again, we will see how it works:

(1.19) Ðet wæs first seo kyning Wulfere þe þet feostnode first mid his worde **&** siððon mid his fingre gewrat on Cristes mel **&** þus cwæð…
ChronE 656/70
+=+s+V+X+,+con*+do+V+X+,**+con=**+X+V+X+,**+con=**+X+V+…,

In such a situation there would be only one clause that is dependent, whereas the rest would function as main clauses, but we chose to treat them as dependent clauses, because very often such clauses display such word order configurations as those that can usually be found in dependent clauses. For example, the inflected verb often goes towards the end of the clause. This criterion, however, does not always work very well because dependent clauses in Old English very often behave like main clauses, and then one can be at a loss. In such case the only reliable criterion for deciding whether a given clause is main or dependent seems to be one's good intuition, but the word 'intuition' does not fit very well in any scientific framework, as it is often not to be relied on.

Dependent clauses in Old English can, and very often do appear before main clauses. Let us have a look at an example that illustrates such a situation:

(1.20) **Ða se cyng undergeat þas þing**, þa ferde he æfter mid þam here
ChronE 1087/70
+**con***+**S**+**V**+**DO**+,+=+X+V+s+X+,

In the case of the dependent clause, we treated the particle *Ða* as a subordinating connector, whereas in the main clause we treated it as an adjunct, hence the tag '+X+'. Sometimes, however, the main clause, which was preceded by a dependent clause, started directly with a verb, in which case we also introduced this '+X+' before the verb so as to imply that the verb is not the first element in the whole discourse but is preceded by a dependent clause. Such information can be of use while investigating the V2 phenom-

enon in Old English or some other languages. Further, no matter what the position of the dependent clause, it can be tagged in the same way anywhere. Thanks to such a procedure, whereby the main clauses are tagged differently from the dependent ones, we were able to encode all the textual information within one document. It was not necessary to construe two independent corpora in two different documents, where one of them would contain all main clauses and the other all dependent clauses. In this way a lot of unnecessary work was avoided, as otherwise one would need to select all of the dependent clauses and place them in an independent document in order to be analysed separately. In our corpus, however, all types of sentences are present and there is no danger of confusing dependent clauses with main ones and vice versa.

And finally, while searching for word order configurations in main clauses, it is first of all necessary to introduce the equals mark '=' and only afterwards can a given main clause configuration follow. On the other hand, while searching for word order configurations in dependent clauses, it is important to introduce the asterisk '*' first, and then any word order configuration can be entered. If one does not include the equals mark, or the asterisk, then both main clause and dependent clause word order configurations will be searched for, since all the sentences of a given corpus find themselves in one document. Our corpus was constructed in the Microsoft Word and it is principally meant for it. However, the corpus can easily be adapted to other programs, too. The MicroConcord for example only requires the separation of the equals mark, or the asterisk, from the plus marks by way of introducing two spaces on both sides of the mark, like in:

+=+ > + = +, and +*+ > + * +

It is necessary to do so if one wishes to have the MicroConcord arrange the sentences in even columns for comparison. Otherwise, the sentences would be jumbled with the text that they encode and scattered around the whole monitor, which would make the comparison more difficult.

1.2.5. Corpus flexibility: the investigation of parataxis and hypotaxis

One of the advantages of our corpus is that in case of doubt the dependent clauses can easily be turned into main clauses and vice versa. Another advantage is that thanks to the standardization that we insist on all along

certain elements can be eliminated, the elements of interest remaining undisturbed. Moreover, both main and dependent clauses can be included in the same document without the risk of confusing main clauses with dependent clauses, and the other way round. There is also one more advantage of which we will talk in this section and which needs more time to focus on.

In Old English there are many sentences, the status of which cannot be clearly established. What we mean is that certain clauses cannot easily be qualified either as main or dependent. Moreover, since most researchers have access only to the modern editions of the mediaeval texts, be it electronic or non-electronic, there appears the problem of the modern punctuation used by the editors. Mitchell (1988: 172) observes that 'it is clear that modern *readers* cannot always grasp the exact nuance an Anglo-Saxon author, reader, or reciter, conveyed to his *hearers*. Even if we assume that there is only one such nuance and that the modern editor has grasped it, he cannot always convey it to others by modern punctuation, which is concerned with modern English as a written rather than as a spoken language, whereas in Old English (one ventures to think) we may sometimes have to do with the rhythms and clause terminals of something closer to speech than to writing.' The problem is that, although Old English possessed a great deal of dependent clauses the status of which cannot be questioned, there are still many ambiguous contexts where it is not certain whether we have to do with parataxis or hypotaxis.

Parataxis is a process whereby words and sentences are conjoined with one another but they form sort of independent units where no subordination is present. Then, if we may say so, parataxis reflects a less advanced stage of language. With the passage of time, when language becomes more 'mature', it starts to develop dependent clauses that cannot stand on their own but whose existence and behaviour is conditioned by main clauses. The moment dependent clauses start to appear, we can start talking of hypotaxis, which reflects a more advanced stage of language. In other words, with the passage of time, languages become more and more mature and abstract. However, before an advanced stage of hypotaxis can be developed, the language has to go through a transition stage where both parataxis and hypotaxis coexist. According to Kiparsky (1995) the Indo-European language was a paratactic language where for example finite subordinate clauses were not embedded but adjoined and this can be evidenced by Sanskrit, Hittite, Old Latin and Classical Greek. Later on, when the Indo-European language split into different languages, most daughter languages that came into being, together with the Germanic family, introduced an innovation in their syntax and departed a little from the original IE pattern. In those languages, dependent clauses became syntactically embedded, taking up modifier or argument positions within the main clause. However, according to Bednarczuk (1980: 145), 'the

relation between parataxis and hypotaxis has not been precisely defined […] in spite of long discussions on the subject, which on the other hand allowed us to discover certain formal differences between them. The most universal seems to be the principle that in subordinate clause neither the imperative nor interjections can be used, whereas parataxis is characterised by the possibility of transposition of constituents, and the conjunctions which occur here can join words. Thus, as paratactic we can assume copulative, alternative, disjunctive, and adversative connections only, and consequently, various kinds of causal, resultative, consecutive etc., sentences which are sometimes involved here, have to be excluded.' Furthermore, Bednarczuk says that it is impossible to state empirically whether parataxis is older than hypotaxis or vice versa, or which of the two constructions has arisen from which. However, he adds that 'the most widespread theory which says that hypotaxis has arisen from parataxis is based on the fact that it is less frequent in colloquial language and in children's speech, while in the historical development of different languages it expands at the cost of parataxis.' However, 'In some languages, on the contrary, we can observe the expansion of parataxis at the cost of hypotaxis' (Bednarczuk 1980: 145).

Although the formal tendency in languages seems to be basically towards hypotaxis, we should assume that it is never the case that parataxis disappears from the language altogether. We said earlier that Old English achieved quite an advanced stage of hypotaxis, but still there are many cases where we can have problems with the classification of the clauses. What can we do in such a situation? Do we have to rely on our good judgement and hope for the best? Probably yes, but how can we be sure that we have not actually missed the point. One of the solutions to this problem is to construct a corpus that would allow the investigation of both parataxis and hypotaxis in sentences that are ambiguous. In other words, a corpus needs to be flexible and to be able to take into account the processual aspect of language change, that is, how language changes should be reflected in the corpus.

Below we present how we can tackle the problem of parataxis, on the one hand, and hypotaxis, on the other, in the construction of a corpus. Let us first take some sentences that are conjoined paratactically with one another:

(1.21) **Þa** geaf se cyng his sunu þone eorldom on Norðfolc & Suðfolc, **þa** lædde he þæt wif to Norðwic

ChronE 1075/4

+=+**X**+V+S+IO+DO+X+,+=+**X**+V+s+DO+X+,

(1.22) Octauianus rixade LVI wintra, **&** on þam XLII geare his rices Crist wæs acenned

ChronE 1/1

+=+S+V+X+,+**con**=+X+S+V+papt+,

(1.23) Her Certic forþferde, **&** Cynric his sunu rixade forþ XXVI wintra, **&** heo sealdon heora twam nefum Stufe & Wihtgare eall Wihtland
ChronE 534/1
+=+X+S+V+,+**con**=+S+V+X+,+**con**=+s+V+IO+DO+,

(1.24) Her Wihtgar forðferde, **&** hine mon bebyrig on Wihtgaras byrig
ChronE 544/1
+=+X+S+V+,+**con**=+do+S+V+X+,

(1.25) Eadgar æþeling þe litle ær fram þam cynge to þam eorle wæs gefaren þær wæs eac gefangen; **þone** let se cyng syððan sacleas faran
ChronE 1106/37
+con*+X+V+papt+,+=+S+X+V+X+papt+,+=+**do**+V+S+X+inf+,

(1.26) Ðises geares eac þa Scottas heora cyng Dunecan besyredon **&** ofslogan **&** heom syððan eft oðre syðe his fæderan Dufenal to cynge genamon
ChronE 1094/46
+=+X+S+DO+V+,+**con**=+V+,+**con**=+io(rf)+X+DO+X+V+,

It can be seen that in the highlighted areas of the above examples there is no subordination whatsoever, as they are conjoined paratactically. It should be noted, however, that the degree to which parataxis is employed depends on the individual users of a given language. That these sentences were conjoined paratactically by one language user, does not mean that it was not possible to conjoin them hypotactically by another. Below we present two examples in which sentences are conjoined hypotactically:

(1.27) And ic gife þone tun **þe** man cleopeð Vndela mid eall **þet** þærto lið, þet is **þet** man cleopeð Eahtehundred & market & toll, swa freolice
ChronE 963/27
+con=+s+V+DO+,+**con***+S+V+X+,+**con***+X+V+,+=+s+V+,+**con***+S+V+X+,+DO+X+,(dis),

(1.28) **Ða** he to him com, þa neodde he him to þam biscoprice of Hrofeceastre, & þa arcebiscopes & biscopes & þet dugeð **þet** wæs on Englalande forð mid se cyng
ChronE 1114/20
+**con***+s+X+V+,+=+X+V+s+do+X+,+**con***+V+X+,

Attention should be paid to the fact that while language maturity can refer to a given language as a whole at a certain period in language history, its maturity can as well refer to anybody individually, and therefore, whereas some users of a given language choose, be it consciously or involuntarily, to employ more paratactic structures in speech production, others will use more advanced structures.

We will now have a look at some ambiguous cases where the dependency or non-dependency of the sentences is not so evident. We can divide the sentences into parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1 and parataxis 2/hypotaxis 2. We will first concentrate on the first type of sentences. We need the following tags here:

> parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1 (referring only to the dependent clause):
> …+scon*+…,…+docon*+…,…+iocon*+…,…+xcon*+…

We can see how it works using the following examples:

(1.29) Her forðferde Æþelberht Cantware cining, **se** rixade LVI wintra; & æfter him feng Eadbold to rice his sunu

ChronE 616/1

+=+X+V+S+,+**scon***+V+X+,+con=+X+V+S+X+,

(1.30) Her forðferde Paulinus ærcebiscop on Rofesceastre VI idus Octobris; **se** wæs biscop an læs XX wintra & II monðas & XXI daga

ChronE 643/1

+=+X+V+S+X+,+**scon***+V+X+,

In both of the examples the word ‘se’, which we have tagged as ‘…+,+scon*+…’ in our corpus, seems to be ambiguous, perhaps less so in the first example, and can be treated in two ways. On the one hand, it can function as a demonstrative pronoun or a personal pronoun that is not a relative connector and whose function is that of the subject of an independent clause. If we treated it like that, then it would be necessary to convert the tag ‘…+,+scon*+…’ into ‘…+,+=+s+…’. In this way we obtain two independent sentences that are connected with each other paratactically. Thus the whole code for the two respective examples would be as follows:

+=+X+V+S+,+=+**s**+V+X+,+con=+X+V+S+X+,

and

+=+X+V+S+X+,+=+**s**+V+X+,

The sentences would then be treated as parataxis 1, which refers to operations performed on the element after the comma, if there is one. On the other hand, the word ‘se’ can function as a relative connector, the more so in the first example though, which would also form the subject of the clause it introduces but this time the clause would be a dependent one. Therefore, we need to eliminate the ‘s’ in order to signal that the word is a relative connector. It is necessary to transform ‘…+,+scon*+…’ into ‘…+,+con*+…’ and obtain the following codes for the above two examples, respectively:

+=+X+V+S+,+**con***+V+X+,+con=+X+V+S+X+,

and

+=+X+V+S+X+,+**con***+V+X+,

In this way we obtain structures of the type that we call hypotaxis 1. The result is that in parataxis 1 all sentences are independent, whereas in hypotaxis 1 there is at least one sentence that is dependent. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that the terms parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1 refer to transformations employed after the comma, if there is one. If there is no comma, then we can say that the transformations refer only to the sentence that, after having converted it into hypotaxis 1, becomes dependent, the main clause on which it is dependent remaining unaffected. Other examples of parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1 concerning the subject will further illustrate the whole problem:

(1.31) He macode þær twa abbotrice: an of muneca oðer of nunna; **þet** wæs eall wiðinnan Wintanceastra

ChronE 963/6

+=+s+V+X+DO+,+**scon***+V+X+,

(1.32) & on þam geare man gerædde þet man geald ærest gafol deniscan mannum for þam mycclan brogan þe hi worhtan be þam særiman; **þet** wæs ærest X þusend punda

ChronE 991/2

+=+X+S+V+,+con*+S+V+DO+X+,+con*+s+V+X+,+**scon***+V+X+,

We will now turn to another tag that concerns parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1, namely the tag '…+,+docon*+…'. The process of the operations employed here is exactly the same as with '…+,+scon*+…', but the function of the words concerned is different. In the example below the sentence introduced by the word *þone* behaves more like an independent clause than a dependent one:

(1.33) Eadgar æþeling þe litle ær fram þam cynge to þam eorle wæs gefaren þær wæs eac gefangen; **þone** let se cyng syððan sacleas faran

ChronE 1106/37

+con*+X+V+papt+,+=+S+X+V+X+papt+,+**docon***+V+S+X+inf+,

It can however be compared with the clause introduced also by *þone* in Example 1.34 below, where it seems to behave more like a dependent clause introduced by a relative connector:

(1.34) he wæs biscop XLV wintra, **þone** Ecgferð cining ær bedraf to Rome

ChronE 709/7

+=+s+V+X+,+**docon***+S+X+V+X+,

In case of doubt, such sentences need to be tagged the way they are introduced by the tag '…+,+docon*+…'. Therefore, they need to be analysed in two ways, that is, in parataxis 1 and then in hypotaxis 1. On the one hand, while investigating the sentences in parataxis 1, it is necessary to transform the tag '…+,+docon*+…' into '…+,+=+do+…', whereby we would obtain an independent sentence starting with a direct object pronoun, which as a result of this transformation would not function as a relative marker. In parataxis 2, on the other hand, it is necessary to turn the tag '…+,+docon*+…' into '…+,+con*+…' indicating that it introduces a dependent clause. Thus we would obtain the following codes (highlighted areas) for the respective examples given above:

• parataxis 1
+con*+X+V+papt+,+=+S+X+V+X+papt+,+=+**do**+V+S+X+inf+,

and

+=+s+V+X+,+=+**do**+S+X+V+X+,

• hypotaxis 1
+con*+X+V+papt+,+=+S+X+V+X+papt+,+**con***+V+S+X+inf+,

and

+=+s+V+X+,+**con***+S+X+V+X+,

What we have just said about the treatment of the direct object, can also apply to the indirect object. Nevertheless, there were some too. If we look at the sentence that follows below, it will be seen that it also can be approached from two different perspectives:

(1.35) & Eadbriht onfeng rice on Cent, **þam** wæs oðer nama nemned Præn

ChronE 794/5

+con=+S+V+X+,+**iocon***+V+S+papt+X+,

In parataxis 1, the word *þam* will be treated as an indirect object, and the tag '…+,+iocon*+…' will need to be turned into '…+,+=+io+…', whereas in hypotaxis 1 it will function as a relative connector, and thus the tag will need to be converted into '…+,+con*+…', and the sentence will be treated as dependent. Therefore, in parataxis 1 the tag for the entire utterance will look as follows:

+con=+S+V+X+,+=+**io**+V+S+papt+X+,

whereas in hypotax 1, it will assume the following form:

+con=+S+V+X+,+**con***+V+S+papt+X+,

Below, under Example 1.36, there is a further illustration of the same problem:

(1.36) se þridda het Heanric **þam** se fæder becwæð gersuman unateallendlice

ChronE 1086/52

+=+S+V+X+,+**iocon***+S+V+DO+,

Apart from the type of sentences that we have just seen, a fourth type of ambiguous cases can be distinguished. This time it concerns other functions than that of subject or object, namely adjuncts. To illustrate this, let us have a look at (1.37) below:

(1.37) **Þa** hi comen on middewarde þe sæ, þa com an mycel storm

ChronE 1070/39

+**xcon***+s+V+X+,+=+X+V+S+,

In parataxis 1, the tag '…+,+xcon*+…' will need to be transformed into '…+,+=+X+…' in order to obtain an independent clause, whereas in hypotaxis 1, the same tag would look something like '…+,+con*+…', giving a dependent clause. The entire utterance would then have the following structure in parataxis 1:

+=+**X**+s+V+X+,+=+X+V+S+,

whereas in hypotaxis 1 it will have this structure:

+**con***+s+V+X+,+=+X+V+S+,

Below there are some other examples that can undergo the same process:

(1.38) þa lædde he þæt wif to Norðwic: **þær** wes þet brydeala mannum to beala

ChronE 1075/5

+con*+V+S+IO+DO+X+,+=+X+V+s+DO+X+,+**xcon***+V+S+IO+X+,

(1.39) We witan oþer egland her be easton **þer** ge magon eardian gif ge willað

ChronE 0/10

+=+s+V+DO+X+,+**xcon***+s+V+inf+,+con*+s+V+,

(1.40) & hi ða burh gehergodon & forbærndon & eodon þa to Searbyrig, & þanon eft to sæ ferde **þær** he wiste his yðhengestas

ChronE 963/20

+con=+s+DO+V+,+con=+V+X+,+**xcon***+s+V+DO+,

(1.41) **Ða** herde Ægelric biscop þet gesecgon, þa amansumede he ealle þa men þa þet yfeldæde hæfden don

ChronE 1070/49

+**xcon***+V+S+do+inf+,+=+X+V+s+DO+,+con*+DO+V+papt+,

So far we have spoken of parataxis 1 and hypotaxis 1. However, there is also another type of ambiguous sentences that are of somewhat different nature. The tags that we use here are the following:

parataxis 2/hypotaxis 2 (refering to both main and dependent clauses):

…+s,con*+…,…+do,con*+…,…+io,con*+…,…+x,con*+…

These tags are used to describe the type of clauses that we call parataxis 2 and hypotaxis 2. The difference between parataxis 1/hypotaxis 1 and parataxis 2/hypotaxis 2 consists in that whereas the former was concerned with operations performed only within the sentence that was turned to a dependent clause in hypotaxis 1, the latter concerns operations performed on two sentences. We can see how it works in practice. First, let us take a sentence which is unambiguous:

(1.42) & he sende Scottum gewrit **þet** hi scoldon gecerran to rihtum Eastrum

ChronE 627/6

+con=+s+V+IO+DO+,+**con***+s+V+inf+X+,

There is no doubt that the sentence *þet hi scoldon gecerran to rihtum Eastrum* is a dependent clause, because *þet* cannot be treated as the direct object selected by the verb *sende* as this function is already expressed by the word *gewrit*. However, we cannot be so sure about the following sentence:

(1.43) Þa gehet se cining Pauline **þet** he wolde his dohter gesyllan Gode

ChronE 626/4

+=+X+V+S+IO+**do,con***+s+V+DO+inf+IO+,

On closer consideration we can suppose that the sentence is not so unambiguous as it at first seems, since the word *þet* can be looked at from two different perspectives. On the one hand, in the so-called parataxis 2, it will serve as

the direct object pronoun selected by the verb *gehet*. In this situation the tag '…+IO+do,con*+s…' will need to be transformed into '…+IO+do+,+=+s+…', giving two clauses that are independent from each other. The entire code for the whole utterance in parataxis 2 would look as follows:

+=+X+V+S+IO+**do**+,+=+s+V+DO+inf+IO+,

In hypotaxis 2, on the other hand, the tag '…+IO+do,con*+s+…' needs to be transformed into '…+IO+,+con*+s+…', giving an utterance whose ultimate code would be as follows:

+=+X+V+S+IO+,+**con***+s+V+DO+inf+IO+,

Below is another example that will further illustrate the problem:

(1.44) & hider ic wille **þet** we secan Sancte Petre

ChronE 656/52

+con=+X+s+V+**do,con***+s+V+DO+,

The respective codes for Example 1.44 in parataxis 2 and hypotaxis 2 would have the following structure:

+con=+X+s+V+**do**+,+=+s+V+DO+,

and

+con=+X+s+V+,+**con***+s+V+DO+,

The same concerns Example 1.45, where the same procedure is applied:

(1.45) & hi cwædon **þet þet** ilce heora geferum geboden wære

ChronE 755/30

+con=+s+V+**do,con***+S+X+IO+papt+v+,+con*+X+V+,

There are some examples that offer us a clear picture as to how parataxis 2 turns into hypotaxis 2. They are actually in a transition stage and struggle towards hypotaxis 2. Let us have a look at Example 1.46:

(1.46) ða cwædon hi **þet þet** hi þæs ne gemundon þonne ma þe heora gefereren

ChronE 755/31

+=+X+V+s+**do**+,+**con***+s+do+X+V+X+,+con*+X+v+papt+,

In this sentence can be treated as the first *þet* the direct object pronoun of the main clause, whereas the second *þet* is a subordinating connector. However,

in a further stage of language maturity, that is in hypotaxis 2, the double *þet þet* seems to have been weakened, whereby the subordinating connector became different from *þet* and more abstract, like in Example 1.47 below:

(1.47) se cyng him nolde agifan **þet þe** he on Normandige uppon him genumen hæfde

ChronE 1106/5

+=+S+io+V+inf+**do**+,+**con***+s+X+papt+V+,

In a yet more advanced stage of language maturity, the two words in *þet þet*, as well as in *þet þe* seem to have been reinterpreted as a sort of a subordinating connector, one of which became superfluous and thus was eliminated, the other serving solely as a subordinating connector in dependent clauses. This is confirmed in Old English in sentences like the one below:

(1.48) þa bæd Swegen eorl hine **þet** he sceolde gewendon mid him to scipe

ChronE 1046b/27

+=+X+V+S+do+,+**con***+s+V+inf+X+,

In Example 1.48 the word *þet* should most likely be treated as a subordinating connector, because it would be a little odd for the sentence to have two direct objects.

Analogically, the remaining tags, that is '…+s,con*+…,…+io,con*+…, …+x,con*+…', should be perceived in a similar way. However, the remaining tags for parataxis 2/hypotaxis 2 are not going to be illustrated by means of examples for reasons of space, and we will not draw more on this subject here, as we think that the problem has clearly been illustrated. Probably we have been overscrupulous, and looked for parataxis where in fact we evidently have hypotaxis. However, we just wanted to illustrate how certain structures, whose status seems to be ambiguous, can be approached. When such sentences can be looked at from two perspectives (parataxis and hypotaxis), then it is worth analysing them the way we have just demonstrated and to compare the results. However, while analysing the corpus that we constructed, we will concentrate on the structures as if they were in hypotaxis. Nevertheless, the discussion of the whole problem should not be underestimated as it may be a way of tackling the problem of parataxis and hypotaxis in Old English and other languages in a more systematic way.

1.2.6. Concluding remarks

The construction of our own annotated corpus for the analysis of word order configuarations, and more specifically for the change from OV to VO in the history of English in the context of some Indo-European languages, facilitated our analysis enormously because we were able to chose texts that we considered important in our research, annotate them and then search for different word order configurations. Our corpus is very easy to make use of because it is transparent and economical. Moreover, it is a flexible corpus which means that it can be modified in order to reflect the dynamic aspect of language. In the subsequent chapters we will present the results of our analysis.

Chapter 2

Proto-Germanic word order

2.1. Proto-Indo-European and its later developments

In this section we are going to discuss the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European word order and the subsequent developments that took place in it.

To start with, according to Fortson (2004: 142): 'It is almost universally asserted that most of the ancient IE languages were verb-final, and that Proto-Indo-European was as well; more specifically, that they were SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). […] It is usually stated that in these, the pragmatically neutral order is SOV.' He assumes that Hittite is the only well-known older PIE language which consistently places the verb at the end of each clause unless other factors intervene, that is, when the verb is fronted to the beginning of the clause for reasons of emphasis or contrast. As to other old IE languages, like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, none of them behaves so rigidly as Hittite does. Lehmann (1974) gives some comparative data supporting the hypothesis that the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European was an OV language and that the subsequent gradual development of the syntax was towards VO in most of the dialects that emerged from it. Among the data available from the various dialects, we must, as Lehmann admits, still draw heavily on Vedic Sanskrit, early Greek, early Latin, and Anatolian languages (of which the Hittite texts are of the greatest interest). These dialects of Proto-Indo-European predominantly show the characteristics expected in OV languages and among the most important ones the following can be enumerated:

— postpositions rather than prepositions,
— relative clauses commonly precede their antecedant,

— descriptive adjectives and attributive genitives (and other nominal modifiers) usually precede the nouns they modify,
— the absence of prefixes,
— conjunctions follow rather than precede the second or further word of a conjoined series,
— the presence of impersonal sentences without expressed subjects,
— comparative constructions follow the pattern — standard pivot adjective,
— complements usually precede the verb introducing them.

According to Grace (1971: 337; after Bean 1983: 42), who investigated the syntax of Vedic, Latin, Greek and Hittite, the basic word order of Proto-Indo-European was subject, indirect object, direct object, verb, where adverbs appeared initially or pre-verbally. However, he claims that Proto-Indo-European was not so rigid about this word order and it exhibited many SOV and SVO characteristics. His conclusions about Proto-Indo-European being a non-rigid SOV language are based on the observation that in all of the four languages, SOV was the most often used word order pattern. Friedrich (1975: 10; after Bean 1983: 42), on the other hand, does not think that Proto-Indo-European manifested any particular basic word order claiming that 'PIE has AN and SV order, and postposes relative clauses, but that otherwise the evidence for [type] II (SVO) and [type] III (SOV) is about equally good, and that type I (VSO) is a serious alternative. After the break-up of the speech community there took place a trichotomisation between the Celtic type I, and the four stocks of the east, plus Italic, with type III, and the majority of the stocks in the central area with some variant of type II.' According to Bean (1983: 43), however, 'Friedrich's analysis of PIE does not invalidate, in itself, any claim that the Germanic languages developed from an SOV (or predominantly SOV) state. Since PIE appears to have been a non-rigid type III language, each of the groups of languages mentioned by Friedrich would be free to select certain VO or OV characteristics to base word order regularization upon if other factors, e.g. contact or loss of inflection, did not force the choice of a particular order.' Miller (1975) observes that the residual compounds in the oldest Indo-European dialects suggest that Indo-European was a VSO language and later on it shifted to an SOV type and then it was in the process of shifting to SVO.

Whatever the original PIE word order, it can be assumed that it had an OV stage, but it is not known whether it was a transitory or a temporarily fixed one, and whether it concerned the whole language or only some of its areas. It seems that the future branches of Proto-Indo-European, e.g. Proto-Germanic and its descendants, most likely developed from an OV language, but it cannot easily be ascertained to what extent they were OV in type.

2.2. Proto-Germanic word order

According to Lehmann (1972b: 241—242), the early IE dialects, including Proto-Germanic were OV in type, or at least they maintain some relics of the OV characteristics, and thus we can regard these dialects as developed from a language of an OV syntactic type. Lehmann (1972b: 241) continues that 'since the modern Germanic languages are basically VO in type, the overall pattern of syntactic change in the Germanic branch was from an OV to a VO structure. In this development, Proto-Germanic maintains OV characteristics, but it has also taken on numerous VO features.' Furthermore, 'early Germanic materials at one stage are ambivalent [when word order is neither VO nor OV], reflecting OV patterns though developing toward a VO type' (Lehmann 1972b: 243). However, 'we must regard any historical sketch of Proto-Germanic syntax as highly preliminary' because of the long distance in time between Proto-Indo-European and the first written texts in Germanic (Lehmann 1972b: 243).

Proto-Germanic, like Proto-Indo-European, is a reconstructed language and we can only guess at the nature of its grammatical structure, as there are no documents written in it. Supposing that it existed, Proto-Germanic must have been spoken somewhere around the birth of Christ or a few centuries earlier, and its syntax, including word order, can be reconstructed upon the basis of the oldest Germanic dialects, as well as upon other ancient Indo-European languages. Hopper (1967: 140; after Bean 1983: 45) reconstructed the Proto-Germanic sentence as having the form as shown below:

Particles — Pronouns — Pronominal Adverbs —
Subject Nominal — {Indirect Object Nominal}
{Nominal complement}
Direct Object Nominal — Heavy Adverbs —
Verbal Complex #

Furthermore, he claims that the constituents are expandable into elements that are ordered in the following way:

Nominal: /Descriptive Adjective — Noun — (Adposition)
{Demonstrative, Possessive} — Limiting Adjective/
Heavy Adverb: /Non-pronominal Adverb — Adverbial Phrase/
Verbal Complex: /Reflexive — Preverb — Non-finite Verb —
Negation — Finite Verb/

Finally, Hopper adds that 'the *ideal* word order represented by this schema was frequently disrupted by stylistic, functional and rhythmical shifts. The

heavy adverbial elements were especially susceptible of syntactic change. In the West Germanic dialects the possessive is often, and the demonstrative is normally found before, not after, a nominal. The reflexive is often placed not with the verb, but with the other pronouns at the head of the clause.' As Bean (1983: 45) observed, Hopper's ordering of the elements is mixed as regards the characteristics expected in a constituent OV or VO language.

We are going to arrive at some more conclusions concerning Proto-Germanic word order in the subsequent sections of our book (see also König, Van Der Auwera 1994). We will basically concentrate upon the earliest runic inscriptions, Gothic and then Old High German.

2.3. Word order in runic inscriptions

As far as runic inscriptions are concerned, there are not any larger pieces of prose writing that could equal to both Gothic and Old High German (OHG) texts. Runic inscriptions are generally based upon the fixed pattern 'somebody did something' that recurs most of the time. However, as Lehmann (1972b: 243) points out, 'although they are stylised statements, the early runic inscriptions because of their antiquity provide the best sources for our conclusions about the syntax of Proto-Germanic.' According to Moltke (1985: 24), three runic periods have been distinguished, and each of these periods has its own variant of the futhark. The first period covers the years from the birth of Christ up to AD 600—700. In other words, this period covers the late Roman and the Germanic Iron Age and has often been called the Migration Age. The type of futhark used in this period is the first and the oldest known runic alphabet, that is, the West Germanic futhark that consists of 24 characters. The Anglo-Saxon futhark, which was presumably developed around AD 500, was based on the West-Germanic 24-character futhark and added seven new symbols. The second runic period covers the years from around AD 650 until 1025—1050, but it is sometimes confined to c. 800—1000, and is called the Viking Age. In the Viking Age, the old 24-character futhark was reduced to sixteen characters, as towards the end of the first runic period it underwent a process of decay. Finally, the third runic period covers the years c. 1050—1400, that is the Middle Ages. In this period, as Moltke (1985: 30) remarks, 'we are fully justified in speaking of a runic alphabet instead of a futhark.' Although the original order of the runes, that is, that of the earliest futhark, is preserved in the Middle Ages, many new runic characters were created due to the influence of the Latin alphabet, and in order to take stock of the inventory, the runes must be put into alpha-

betical order. To continue, the division into the three periods is somewhat artificial and there are no clear-cut boundaries between them and they often overlap. For example, there is some disagreement between scholars as to when Period I ends and when Period II starts, as could be noticed above.

The runic inscriptions that we chose for our analysis are basically full sentences that contain the elements we are interested in, namely the verb, the object and the subject. Sometimes the runic inscriptions did not contain the object but we considered them interesting from the point of view of the position of the verb with respect to other sentence elements. The corpus of the runic inscriptions that we constructed for our analysis consists of inscriptions from all of the three periods. The periodisation, however, has been done on the basis of the dating of the individual runic inscriptions, and not on the basis of the kind of futhark employed. It should be noted that our corpus is far from being complete but we hope that we will be able to arrive at some objective implications concerning the Proto-Germanic word order.

As far as the first runic period RP I is concerned, we did not make any distinction according to the region they were found, be it on the continent, in Norway, in Sweden or somewhere else. What we stressed here was basically the age of the inscriptions, as said above. The analysed first period runic inscriptions are simple sentences which are generally main clauses. As to dependent clauses, we were not able to spot a single one in any of them. Furthermore, there are no past participles, present participles or infinitives whatever in them. The complexity of the sentences, however, increases in later periods. According to our calculations, in the main clauses of the runic inscriptions of the first period there are 79.31% of VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word order configurations constitute 20.68%, the objects being both nominal and pronominal. Thus in the analysed runic inscriptions there is a strong tendency to place the object after the verb. The strong tendency towards VO stands in contrast to what has so far been said with respect to the Proto-Germanic word order. Does this mean that Proto-Germanic was VO? It seems so, but it is perhaps better to say that the Proto-Germanic word order displayed a very strong tendency towards VO, at least when the position of objects with respect to verbs is concerned. Nevertheless, the Gallehus inscription (Jutland, c. AD 400; Krause 1971: 148) has often been used by scholars in order to propose that the Proto-Germanic word order was OV. Let us have a look at it:

(2.1) ek hlewagastiR holtijaR horna tawido
+=+s+X+DO+V+,

For example, Smith (1971: 291; after Bean 1983: 45) suggests that ‘verb final order was the primary unmarked order in both the oldest Germanic runic in-

scriptions of the older fuþark and in Gothic…' He continues that '[t]his verb final unmarked order was inherited from Proto-Indo-European.' However, according to our investigations, sentences of the OV word order configuration are quite rare when compared with sentences of the VO word order type. Besides, we found only one sentence where the verb is in the imperative mood and it precedes the object; in imperative constructions the verb usually, but not always, tends to be placed at the beginning of the clause. If there were more imperative constructions found, then it would be arguable if the tendency in the first period runic inscriptions was towards VO, but the overwhelming majority of the runic inscriptions analysed are neutral statements. However, the fact that most of the runic inscriptions are based on an established pattern, 'someone did something', producing many sentences of a similar structure, cannot be in any way disregarded, because if the Proto-Germanic language had a strong reverse word order tendency, that is, towards OV, then the sentences would be built accordingly on the basis of the pattern 'someone something did', which is not the case, as has been demonstrated. As far as the ordering of elements within the NP is concerned, Bradshaw (1976: 8; after Bean 1983: 48) points out that 'if a language has the word order VSO or SVO in the sentences, then it will have the order specified-specifier in its nominal compounds; if a language has the word order SOV in its sentences, then it will have the order specifier-specified in its nominal compounds.' Furthermore, Bean (1983: 48—49) notes that in the earlier period of the runic inscriptions the compound order indicates that the compound NP had a modifier-head (XV) ordering. She supports her view that some proper nouns had in fact internal OV order in the North West Germanic inscriptions by providing the following examples:

(2.2) bida-warijaz (c. 200) (proper noun)
'oath protector'

(2.3) widu-hudaz (c. 200) (proper noun)
'wood-dog'

(2.4) frawa-radaz (c. 300) (proper noun)
'lord-adviser'

(2.5) hadu-laikaz (c. 450) (proper noun)
'battle-dancer'

She, however, observes that some compounds in fact manifested VO internal order, as can be seen in the example below:

(2.6) witada-halaiban (c. 400) (common noun)
'watch-bread' (lord)

That some compound nouns have, on the one hand, the VO internal word order, and, on the other, the OV one, is a little confusing and there is much disagreement among scholars as to that. Smith (1971; after Bean 1983: 46) observes that the original order within the NP was that of head + modifier, except the genitive which manifested a variable position, namely either pre- or post-nominal order. According to Bean (1983: 46) such evidence 'indicates that PGmc did have basic SXV order of the major sentence elements, with VSX being used as a marked alternate order. The order of elements within the NP, however, appears to be basically VX.' She further says that 'support for the XV order of the major elements and, to some extent, for the minor elements, may be drawn from closer inspection of the dialects' (Bean 1983: 46). No matter how much disagreement there might be, we are not so much worried about this situation because, to our mind, nominal compounds concern a different linguistic level from that of the ordering of the basic elements of the sentence. Compounds can, and perhaps do, speak strongly in favour of the Proto-Germanic being an OV language, but we consider all linguistic levels as independent from one another. As for compound verbs, on the other hand, it is worth mentioning, that they also seem to speak in favour of Proto-Germanic being OV internally, and, according to Smith, they demonstrate, at least as far as the North Germanic languages are concerned, the movement from verb final to verb-second, and what is connected with it, the movement from SOV to SVO, because of the fact that the pre-600 inscriptions have the order NonFinite (NonFi) + Finite (Fi) verb, whereas in the post-600 inscriptions the order is Fi…NonFi. As to the Danish and Swedish materials they appear to have a predominance of Fi + NonFi over Fi…NonFi order by a 3 to 1 margin. In order to illustrate that, let us take the following example from Bean (1983: 47):

(2.7) (Danish) sasur **lit resa** sten aftiR aluarþ

J/M: 379

+=+S+V+inf+DO+X+,

As can be seen, the first verb is finite, whereas the second one is nonfinite. There are more examples provided in Bean (1983) but we expect that they are not necessary to illustrate the problem further.

Now let us turn to the position of pronominal objects with respect to the verb in the main clauses of the first period of runic inscriptions. We found only one word order configuration with a pronominal object preceding the verb, but we did not find any configurations where the pronominal object followed the verb. This pronominal object that precedes the verb consequently constitutes 100% of all the main clause pronominal objects that either precede or follow the verb. Such a situation certainly does not reflect the true

state of things because on the basis of the position of one pronominal object no objective percentages can be expected. However, the implication here is that there was a stronger tendency to place pronominal objects before the verb in main clauses rather than after it. Naturally, due to the restricted resources that we had at our disposal our corpus is not big enough to present all of the possible configurations, so at this point we cannot say much about the behaviour of pronominal objects. Moreover, many runic inscriptions which could perhaps offer a much more varied picture of word order in the inscriptions of the first period have never been found. However, we were able to gather many more inscriptions from the later two periods. Meanwhile, let us concentrate upon the position of main clause nominal objects in the first period of runic inscriptions. The nominal objects that occur after the verb constitute 82.14%, whereas the ones that precede the verb constitute 17.85%.

If we compare both nominal and pronominal main clause objects in the first runic period, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 1. RP I: comparison of nominal and pronominal main clause objects

Word order	Nominal object	Percent	Word order	Pronominal object	Percent
VO	23	82.14	Vo	0	0.00
OV	5	17.85	oV	1	100.00
Total	28	100.00		1	100.00

As can be seen, generally there is a much stronger tendency to place nominal objects after the verb (82.14%) rather than before it, and when compared with pronominal objects it occurrs that, out of the total of nominal objects appearing before or after the verb, nominal objects appear with much less frequency before the verb (17.85%) than do pronominal ones (100% out of the total of pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb). The implication here, then, is that nominal objects display a greater tendency towards being placed after the verb than do pronominal objects, as pronominal objects are more prone to stay in front of the verb.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in the first runic period are concerned, we obtained the following data: there are 44.44% of V2 constructions, and the subject occupies the first position in 68.75% of them.

We will now have a look at the runic inscriptions of the RP II and see what they offer us as far as the VO/OV word order configurations are concerned. We found out that there are 96.08% of VO word order configurations in the main clauses, and 3.91% of OV configurations, the objects being both nominal and pronominal. It is a significant difference when compared with

the first period runic inscriptions. The conclusion, therefore, is that there are more VO configurations in the second period than in the first one; it should, however, be remembered that the number of word orders analysed from the first period is much smaller than from the second one. The picture probably would look somewhat different if we analysed more runic inscriptions from the first period. Anyway, it can be noticed that there is a growing tendency towards VO between the two periods. Moreover, unlike in the first period runic inscriptions, in the second period there appear quite a few dependent clauses and they offer us an interesting picture, namely in dependent clauses there are 26.66% of objects that appear after the verb, whereas 73.33% appear before it, the object being both nominal and pronominal. There are almost three times as many OV word order configurations as compared with VO configurations. Therefore, we can conclude that dependent clauses prefer OV word order rather than VO which is more typical of main clauses. What is more, the change from OV to VO in dependent clauses is said to be much slower than in main clauses, and it is said that the word order in dependent clauses is more conservative. It should not be assumed, however, that dependent clauses reflect the older state of both main clause and dependent clause word order, namely that that on the basis of dependent clauses we should arrive at the conclusion that the word order was similar in main clauses in the past and that the word order of the proto-language was OV, accordingly. That the verb tends to appear after the object, or at the end of the clause in dependent clauses, is due to some syntactic processes that govern their structure, and they undergo quite different processes than main clauses do.

Now let us have a look at the behaviour of pronominal objects in main clauses. We found 6 pronominal objects that appear after the verb, and they constitute 75% of all of the eight pronominal objects that appear either before or after the verb. The two remaining pronominal objects appear before the verb and they constitute 25%. If we take nominal objects, on the other hand, we will obtain the following picture: there are 96.84% of nominal objects that are placed after the verb, whereas only 3.15% occur before it. The conclusion, therefore, is that there is a very strong tendency to place nominal objects after the verb, whereas pronominal objects occur more frequently before the verb. This observation implies that main clause pronominal objects are more likely to appear before the verb than nominal objects.

Now let us see what is the situation in dependent clauses with respect to the behaviour of nominal and pronominal objects. We found out that there are no pronominal objects appearing after the verb. However, there are 4 pronominal objects that appear before the verb. Therefore, the 4 pronominal objects constitute 100% of the total of the investigated dependent clause pronominal objects. As regards the behaviour of dependent clause nominal

objects, there are 36.36% of them appearing after the verb, whereas 63.63% are placed before it.

In the Table 2 we compare the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects in both main and dependent clauses of RP II in order to better see the contrast between the two:

Table 2. RP II: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	96.84	36.36	Vo	75.00	0.00
OV	3.15	63.63	oV	25.00	100.00

The conclusion is that in both main and dependent clauses pronominal objects appear much more often before the verb than do nominal objects. Moreover, dependent clauses generally are more likely to be OV, and main clauses are more likely to be VO.

Now let us have a look at what is the situation with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in both main and dependent clauses of the runic inscriptions from the second period. In main clauses there is a strong tendency to V2, as the V2 structures constitute 80.33% of all of the investigated main clauses, and the subject appears in the first position in 94.60% of all of them. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, V2 structures constitute 53.65% of all of the investigated dependent clauses, and the subject occupies the first position in 27.27% of them. We will arrive at some more conclusions about the V2 phenomenon while we compare diachronically all the three periods later on. In the meantime, let us have a look at the RP III, and see if there are any significant differences there as compared with the previous two runic periods.

If we look at the the behaviour of all kinds of objects, both nominal and pronominal in main clauses, we will see that the VO configurations constitute 82% of all of the main clause objects appearing either before or after the verb, whereas the OV word orders constitute 18%, and thus we can say that there is a very strong tendency to VO here. However, it is not as strong as in RP II. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, there is a stronger tendency towards OV: here, the VO word order configurations constitute 25%, whereas the OV ones constitute 75%.

Now that we have described the synchronic state of all kinds of objects, both nominal and pronominal in both main and dependent clauses of all of the three runic periods, let us have a look at their behaviour from the diachronic perspective:

Table 3. RP I, II, III: diachronic comparison of all VO and OV objects in both main and dependent clauses

Runic period	Clause type	Word order	Number	Percent	Word order	Number	Percent
I	main	VO	23	79.31	OV	6	20.68
II	main	VO	222	96.08	OV	9	3.91
III	main	VO	41	82.00	OV	9	18.00
I	dependent	VO	0	0.00	OV	0	0.00
II	dependent	VO	4	26.66	OV	11	73.33
III	dependent	VO	1	25.00	OV	3	75.00

As can be seen, in main clauses there is an increasing tendency towards VO across the analysed runic periods. However, there are fewer VO main clause word orders in RP III than in RP II, which seems to be due to Latin influence in some of the inscriptions; we will say more about this matter while discussing the behaviour of pronominal objects of runic inscriptions from RP III. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, although there are slightly more VO word orders in RP III than in RP II, the diachronic situation is much more stable than in main clauses and we cannot speak of any clear tendencies towards VO here, apart from that in dependent clauses the VO word order configurations form only one fourth of all dependent clause word orders, and that there were probably more OV word orders in the first runic period than in the later two periods.

To continue, if we look at the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects in the third runic period, we will observe that out of the total of main clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb 66.66% appear after the verb, whereas 33.33% appear before it. The situation is much different as far as main clause nominal objects are concerned where 93.10% of them appear after the verb, whereas 6.89% are placed before it. The conclusion is, like in the previous two periods, that pronominal objects are much more likely to occur before the verb than nominal objects.

We mentioned that in the third period of runic inscriptions there was a decreasing number of VO configurations as compared with the previous runic period, and that this situation was probably mainly due to Latin influence. Let us now have a closer look at the problem. To start with, in the third period it was generally more usual for pronominal objects to occur after the verb in main clauses rather than before it, as can be illustrated by the Listerby church inscription below:

(2.8) Touæ giorþæ **mik** ok niklif mik to(u)æ gorþæ **mik** moruþ

(Moltke 1985: 454)

+=+S+V+**do**+,+con=+S+do+,+=+S+V+**do**+X+,

or by the Boeslunde church-bell inscription, Sjælland:

(2.9) + : frater : (t)oco : æfsa : kør(i) : **mik** : frat(e)r : inkæma[ru]s srips in : campana

(Moltke 1985: 444)

+=+S+V+**do**+,+=+S+V+X+,

When pronominal objects appeared before the verb in main clauses, it was most likely due to Latin influence. Let us first take a few inscriptions written in Latin:

(2.10) Bøstrup censer, Fyn:
magistær : ia[k](o)bus : ruffus : **me** feciþ

(Moltke 1985: 521)

+=+S+**do**+V+,

(2.11) Fåborg censer, Fyn:
magistær : iakobus : ruffus : fabær : **me** feciþ

(Moltke 1985: 524)

+=+S+**do**+V+…,

By analogy, in the Vestra Sallerup font, Skåne, it can be seen that some runic inscriptions were made according to the Latin pattern:

(2.12) + marten : **mik** : giarþe +

(Moltke 1985: 547)

+=+**do**+V+,

Nevertheless, a clear tendency to place pronominal objects after the verb can be seen in the Ollerup censer inscription, Fyn:

(2.13) + magistær : iakobus : me fecit : toke : kopte **mik** : mariia

(Moltke 1985: 537)

+=+S+do+V+=+S+V+**do**+X+,

As can be noticed, the second part of the above inscription in Danish is not written according to the Latin pattern *me fecit* but it follows the Danish word order. Also in the Hesselager canser inscription, Fyn, the Latin pattern is not observed:

(2.14) + mæstær : iakop : ryþ : afsinnæbuuhr : gøræ **mik** : gesus krist

(Moltke 1985: 447)

+=+S+V+**do**+X+,

Furthermore, pronominal objects were agglutinated at the end of the verb and they produced structures like that in the Bregninge stone inscription, Tåsinge, which speak in favour of the VO word order in Danish:

(2.15) + suen : sa zærsuæn : ligærhæunde : helge diakææn : ri stæ**mek** : mæstær : bo : gyorþæ**mk**

(Moltke 1985: 415)

+=+S+V+X+,+=+S+V+**do**+,+=+S+V+**do**+,

As for dependent clauses, it was natural to place pronominal objects according to the Germanic dependent clause pattern as is evidenced by the Lyngsjö church inscription:

(2.16) Gesus krist ..ni : þan ær **mik** skref

(Moltke 1985: 432)

+con*+**do**+V+,

Coming back to our investigation of objects in RP III, in dependent clauses we did not find many cases with pronominal objects, as there are only two pronominal objects appearing before the verb and thus they constitute 100% of the pronominal objects that we investigated. As to the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects, we discovered that the ones that are placed after the verb constitute 50%, and those that appear before the verb also constitute 50%. If we compare the data obtained for the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects, we will obtain the following picture for RP III:

Table 4. RP III: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	93.10	50.00	Vo	66.66	0.00
OV	6.89	50.00	oV	33.33	100.00

It can be seen in the above table that in dependent clauses there are an equal number of nominal objects that occur before and after the verb, but no pronominal objects occur after the verb. However, there are too few objects in the dependent clauses to talk of any definite tendencies but it is probably not an accident that the two pronominal objects, that is 100% of them, occur before the verb, and such behaviour further supports the idea that pronominal objects generally preferred to occur before the verb in dependent clauses,

whereas nominal objects showed a much greater tendency to appear after the verb. A similar observation can be made about main clauses.

Now that we have completed the synchronic comparison of both nominal and pronominal objects from all of the runic periods, it is time to have a look at them from a diachronic perspective:

Table 5. RP I, II, III: diachronic comparison of main and dependent clauses (%)

Runic period	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV
I	79.31	0.00	82.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.68	100.00	17.85	0.00	0.00	0.00
II	96.08	75.00	96.84	26.66	0.00	36.36	3.91	25.00	3.15	73.33	100.00	63.63
III	82.00	66.66	93.10	25.00	0.00	50.00	18.00	33.33	6.89	75.00	100.00	50.00

We will start with the comparison of main clauses. When we compare the first and the second runic period, there is a decreasing number of the OV structures where nominal objects appear before the verb, but in the third period there is a slight tendency in nominal objects to come back in the front of the verb. At the same time, if we compare the second period and the third period, we will see that there is an increasing number of structures where pronominal objects appear before the verb. In first runic period, on the other hand, we found only one pronominal object and it appeared before the verb, and thus constitutes 100% of the pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, which in turn means that there is a sudden decrease in the placement of pronominal objects before the verb if we compare the first period with the second period and the third period; however, if there were more pronominal objects found in the first period, then we could perhaps count on some of them to appear after the verb. The conclusion, therefore, is that nominal objects in main clauses generally tended to go to the position after the verb, whereas pronominal objects generally tended to stay longer in front of the verb. Of course we cannot speak here of any definite tendencies in the respective runic periods because of the unequal number of inscriptions coming from each of them. The table would certainly give us a clearer picture of how word order was changing across the three runic periods, if in each period the same inscriptions, or their translations, were present. However, each period is characterised by having a different set of inscriptions, and what we can do is only to arrive at some general conclusions. As for dependent clauses, there is also a growing tendency to place nominal objects after the verb but not as strong as in main clauses. As for pronominal

objects, they show a very strong tendency to occur before the verb and they are generally reluctant to go to the position after the verb. Nevertheless, it can be seen, at least as far as nominal objects are concerned, that dependent clauses slowly started to employ the word order typical of main clauses, that is VO, which meant for the verb that it gradually started to cease to be placed at the end of the clause. Generally speaking, according to our calculations, the change from OV to VO was slower in dependent clauses than in the main ones.

As for the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, the runic inscriptions from the third period offer us the following picture:

Table 6. RP I, II, III: diachronic comparison of the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in main and dependent clauses (%)

Runic period	Clause type	V2	XV2	SV2
I	main	44.44	31.25	68.75
II	main	80.33	5.39	94.60
III	main	77.04	8.51	91.48
I	dependent	0.00	0.00	0.00
II	dependent	53.65	72.72	27.27
III	dependent	83.33	60.00	40.00

There are 77.04% of V2 structures in main clauses, whereas in dependent clauses their number is somewhat higher, as there are 83.33% of them out of the total of the investigated dependent clauses. As to the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon in main clauses, the subject occurs in 91.48% of the V2 main clause structures, whereas in dependent clauses there are generally fewer SV2 structures within the V2 ones, and their number amounts to 40%. The data presented in the Table 6 are also the result of diachronic comparison of the V2 constructions, as well as the SV2-within-V2 ones, in all of the three runic periods.

In the Table 6 it can be seen that in the V2 main clause structures of the second period there is a rapid increase in SV2 structures as compared with the first period, whereas the number of XV2 structures decreases accordingly. In the third period there are fewer SV2-within-V2 structures than in the second period although the number of V2 structures in both periods is more or less the same. No matter what the difference, there is an overwhelming majority of SV2-within-V2 structures in both the second and the third runic period that ranges from 91% to over 94%. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is a little bit different. In the dependent clauses of the third period there is a considerable increase in the V2 as well

as in the SV2-within-V2 structures. One of the implications, therefore, is that in main clauses the number of the SV2-within-V2 structures rapidly increased in the second period and stayed more or less the same in the third period and even displayed a slight tendency to decrease. In dependent V2 clauses, on the other hand, the number of the SV2-within-V2 structures increased less rapidly. A further implication here is that across the three runic periods, in both main and dependent clauses, the subject tended to appear more frequently before the verb than what is implied by the above table. It is because the subject could often be preceded by other elements like adjuncts and thus giving XSV or XXSV word order configurations, which we have disregarded here completely. Perhaps such structures would be worth counting too, in order to better see the movement of the subject towards the front of the verb. Moreover, it might prove helpful in a better understanding of the time and nature of the word order change from OV to VO due to the fact that the change from OV to VO seems to be connected with the development of the so-called SV2-within-V2 structures, as shown in the table below:

Table 7. RP I, II, III: diachronic comparison of the development of OV, V2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Runic period	Clause type	VO	V2	SV2
I	main	79.31	44.44	68.75
II	main	96.08	80.33	94.60
III	main	82.00	77.04	91.48
I	dependent	0.00	0.00	0.00
II	dependent	26.66	53.65	27.27
III	dependent	25.00	83.33	40.00

It can clearly be seen that there is a diachronic correlation between the development of VO structures and the development of the SV2-within-V2 structures in main clauses, whereas in dependent clauses the correlation is not so evident here.

According to our calculations a definite change towards VO in the runic inscriptions took place around the beginning of the second runic period. Therefore, our investigations seem to agree with the observations of some scholars. For example, according to Bean (1983: 46) 'there are occasional differences of opinion over dialect attribution of some of the inscriptions, frequently stemming from differences of opinion over the groupings of the languages after the break up of Proto-Germanic. However, even allowing for a certain degree of uncertainty over dialect and dating, the majority of the

evidence suggests that, by the sixth century, the language of the inscriptions was undergoing a change from verb-final to verb second or SVX.'

2.4. How much does Old High German tell us about the Proto-Germanic word order?

2.4.1. Introduction

In this section we are going to concentrate upon the word order in Old High German (OHG), as it is said that Old High German is a good reflection of what the Proto-Germanic language looked like. According to Hutterer (2002), the OHG period extended from 600 to 1100 AD. Furthermore, 'the language known as High German appears first in the form of runic inscriptions in Old High German dating back to 600 or so, most importantly on a spearhead found in Wurmlingen near Tübingen in southwest Germany. From the eighth century come a large number of glosses as well as the earliest, at first short poems and religious texts. But only in the ninth and tenth centuries does a considerable quantity of material appear on the scene, roughly contemporaneous with the flowering of Old English' (Fortson 2004: 32—33). We will basically concentrate on the text of *Tatian*, which is an OHG translation of the New Testament, because it is a prose text, and prose is most likely to reflect the spoken variety of language. However, *Tatian*, which was written in the East-Frankish dialect, is only a translation of Latin texts, and thus we expect that there is a good deal of syntactic transfer from Latin in it. In order to see how much transfer there is, we will compare *Tatian* with parallel Latin texts and then we will talk about the noticeable differences that we found. The text sample that we took into account consists of the following chapters from the New Testament: Luke 1 and 2, and Matthew 6 and 8, and from now on we will refer to this sample of *Tatian* as T1. The reason for such a choice of the enumerated chapters was that it was possible to find their entire counterparts in the *Gothic Bible*, and thus in the *Greek Bible*, which enabled us to compare the same texts in different languages. Of course, there are many other fragments of *Tatian* that have their counterparts in Gothic, but we think that the four chapters will suffice to allow us to arrive at some reasonable conclusions as to word order.

2.4.2. The analysis of *Tatian* (T1)

We will have a look at what is the general picture of all objects, both nominal and pronominal, in *Tatian*. We will start with what is the situation in main clauses, and then we will compare the data with the data obtained for dependent clauses. In main clauses there are 86.54% of word orders that are VO. This high number of VO word order configurations was certainly influenced by the substantial number of imperative clauses, which usually, but not always, tend to place the inflected verb before the object; in the OHG texts there are many more VO imperative constructions than OV ones but when we separate VO structures, from OV structures, we will see that the proportion of the use of imperatives in the respective word order configurations amounts to about 6/10, which is not an astonishing difference. Furthermore, whether the verb is placed before the object or after it in imperative constructions is determined by pragmatic reasons. But, to be sure imperative constructions are statistically more in favour of the VO word order configurations than of the OV ones; we noticed this tendency in other texts too.

As far as dependent clauses are concerned, there are many more OV word orders there than in main clauses: the VO word order configurations constitute 55.38%, whereas the OV ones constitute 44.61%. It is not surprising because in Germanic it was more common for the verb to go towards the end of the clause in dependent clauses. Still, there are more VO word orders here than OV ones. We will see later on what Latin dependent clauses offer us in this respect and how they compare with the OHG ones. Meanwhile, we will continue with the analysis of the OHG *Tatian*.

As for the behaviour of pronominal objects in main clauses, we discovered that an overwhelming majority of them follow the verb; if we also included all of the reflexive pronominal objects, then we would have yet more VO word order configurations, namely only 1.07% of pronominal objects occur before the verb in main clauses, whereas 98.92% of them follow it. If we have a look at the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, we will see that there are 75.82% of them that are placed after the verb, whereas 24.17% occur before it. Moreover, unlike in the runic inscriptions, there are many more nominal objects that occur before the verb than there are pronominal ones. The picture is much more different for dependent clauses, where out of the total of the pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb 70% are placed before the verb, whereas 30% of them occur after it, which in turn means that pronominal objects tend to be placed more often before the verb in dependent clauses than after it. A further implication here is that pronominal objects generally lag behind nominal objects as far as the change

towards VO is concerned. For comparison let us have a look at the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects: 72.97% of them are placed after the verb, whereas 27.02% occur before it. The overall picture of the behaviour of nominal and pronominal objects in both main and dependent clauses looks as follows:

Table 8. T1: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	75.82	72.97	Vo	98.92	30.00
OV	24.17	27.02	oV	1.07	70.00

We cannot say at this moment to what extent the picture of OHG word order is distorted because of the very small sample that we took into consideration, as well as because we have not yet analysed its Latin counterpart. After the Latin sample has been analysed and comparisons done, we are going to tackle a much bigger sample of OHG *Tatian*, which we will call T2, and then we will see how it relates to the smaller text sample, that is, T1. In the meantime, let us have a look at what *Tatian* offers us as far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned:

Table 9. T1: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Clause type	V2	XV2	SV2
Main	46.17	65.08	34.91
Dependent	52.02	31.06	68.93

If we compare synchronically both main and dependent clauses, we will be able to observe that in the *Tatian* fragments dependent clauses behave more like main ones and main clauses behave more like dependent ones: in dependent clauses many more subjects occupy the first position in the V2 structures, and there are relatively more V2 structures in dependent clauses than in main clauses. This anomaly, so we think, can be attributed to Latin influence, as there is a clash of two systems: Italic and Germanic.

2.4.3. The analysis of the *Vulgate* (L1) for comparison with *Tatian* (T1)

Before we arrive at some more conclusions with respect to word order in *Tatian*, we will have a look at a text sample from the *Vulgate*, the Latin counterpart of the four biblical chapters of *Tatian* in question; we will call the Latin texts L1 henceforth.

As far as the general situation of all kinds of objects in L1 is concerned, we discovered that in main clauses there is an overwhelming majority of VO structures that amount to 85.80%, whereas OV word orders occupy only 14.19%. The situation was not much different in *Tatian*, where VO word orders constituted 86.54% and the rest was occupied by OV configurations. In dependent clauses of the Latin text, on the other hand, VO word orders occupy a little less space, that is, 74.57% of all the investigated dependent clause word orders, than in main clauses. If we compare the Latin text with *Tatian*, we will see that in *Tatian* dependent clauses have more OV (44.61%) word orders than the Latin text and thus fewer VO configurations (55.38%). Moreover, whereas in the Latin text there is not a very huge difference between the arrangement of word order configurations in both main and dependent clauses, in *Tatian* there is a significant diference in the two types of clauses with respect to that. We suppose that if it were not for the Latin influence, there would be more OV configurations in *Tatian* dependent clauses; the same could perhaps be said about *Tatian* main clauses, which would result in fewer VO configurations.

Let us now have a look at what is the situation with the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects. In the Latin text, pronouns generally tend to be arranged according to the VO word order type in main clauses, as there are 95.34% of them arranged like that. In *Tatian*, on the other hand, main clauses have yet more pronominal objects that are arranged according to the VO pattern, and they amount to 98.92% of the total of pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb in main clauses. As far as main clause nominal objects are concerned, in the Latin text there are 78.16% of those that are arranged according to the VO pattern and the rest are OV, which is 21.83%. In the *Tatian* main clauses, however, there are 75.82% of all the nominal objects that are arranged according to the VO pattern and the rest, that is 24.17%, are OV. That means that the *Tatian* nominal objects tend to occur a little more often before the verb than the *Vulgate* nominal objects in main clauses. The conclusion is that the word order configurations found in the *Tatian* main clauses generally tend to go hand in hand with the Latin word order configurations. Therefore, the *Tatian* main clauses have been much influenced by Latin.

We saw before that the *Tatian* dependent clauses were not so much influenced by Latin with respect to word order. Let us have a closer look at it and divide the objects into nominal and pronominal. First we will have a look at the behaviour of dependent clause pronominal objects in the Latin text. Pronominal objects generally tend to be placed after the verb in dependent clauses and they form 87.50% of the total of all the pronominal objects that we found. In *Tatian*, the situation is much different, as the pronominal objects that are arranged according to the VO pattern constitute only 30% of all the dependent clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, and 70% display the OV word order configuration. As for dependent clause nominal objects in the Latin text, the ones that are arranged according to the VO pattern constitute nearly three fourths of the total of the dependent clause nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, and the rest are OV: the VO word order configurations constitute 70%, whereas the OV ones constitute 30%. In *Tatian* the situation is comparable, as the nominal objects that are placed after the verb also constitute around 70% of all of the dependent clause nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. The conclusion is, therefore, that it is only the dependent clause pronominal objects in *Tatian* that do not conform to the Latin pattern, and they normally tend to be placed before the verb. Let us now gather all the data that we have so far obtained for both *Tatian* and the *Vulgate*:

Table 10. L1 and T1: synchronic comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV
L1	85.80	95.34	78.16	74.57	87.50	70.00	14.19	4.65	21.83	25.42	12.50	30.00
T1	86.54	98.92	75.82	55.38	30.00	72.97	13.45	1.07	24.17	44.61	70.00	27.02

It is basically in the region of the dependent clause pronominal objects that the two texts differ significantly. Otherwise, the two texts almost go hand in hand with respect to word order. What was true for runic inscriptions works only in the dependent clauses of the *Tatian* text, that is, there are relatively many more pronominal objects than nominal ones that are placed in front of the verb; we expected an analogical situation in main clauses but we were taken by surprise.

Upon having analysed the behaviour of objects in the two texts we can conclude that there is a great deal of Latin influence in the texts of *Tatian*, especially in main clause word order, and therefore *Tatian* cannot be a reli-

able source in the discussion of Proto-Germanic word order, except for perhaps dependent clauses and the position of adjectives and possessive modifiers with respect to nouns. As for the latter, it is typical for OHG *Tatian* to place adjectives before the noun that they modify, and this situation is much the same as in Modern English, but it is unlike in the Latin texts that we analysed. Let us take a few examples to illustrate that:

(2.17) exspectans consolationem **Israhel**
beitonti **Israhelo** fluobra
Lk 2:25

(2.18) secundum consuetudinem diei **festi**
after thero giuuonu **thes itmalen** tages
Lk 2:42

(2.19) Et factum est ut impleti sunt dies officii **eius**, abiit in domum **suam**.
Inti gifulte uurdun tho taga **sines** ambahtes, gieng in **sin** hus.
Lk 1:23

Such behaviour of the modifiers implies that this word order in Old High German was inherited from Proto-Germanic, and this kind of modification seems to be very deeply rooted in some Germanic languages, including English. Furthermore, according to Bean (1983: 53), OHG compounds can also be used as evidence for an earlier XV stage:

(2.20) alt-fiant
'old-enemy'

(2.21) hant-skuoh
'hand-shoe' (glove)

(2.22) sigi-numft
'victory-capture' (victory)

However, as we said before, we do not correlate such types of modification with word order configurations in other areas of the language, like with, for example, the area of the placement of objects with respect to the verbs that select them. We think that even if a given language has the XV type of modification when both compounds and non-compounds are concerned, it does by no means imply that its word order must be OV, as far as the position of objects with respect to verbs in unmarked speech is concerned. It is enough to have a look at Modern English, where compounds like 'water-bearer', 'hair-dresser', 'taxi-driver', and many others, are not uncommon. However, since Modern English is a VO language, the following sentences are produced in an unmarked speech:

(2.23) a water-bearer bears water
a hair-dresser dresses hair
a taxi-driver drives taxis

Although Modern English, like Old High German, seems to have inherited the XV word order in compounds, as some scholars imply, we claim that it does not necessarily need to be so. Perhaps it would be better to say that the XV word order in compounds is not so much of an inheritance from Proto-Germanic, as of a natural path in language. Therefore, we do not claim that Proto-Germanic was an OV language although the position of modifiers in the oldest Germanic dialects, according to some scholars, implies that. On the basis of what we have discovered so far, we can say that Proto-Germanic was a VO language with a strong tendency towards OV in dependent clauses. But we will leave the discussion of Proto-Germanic word order until later on. In the meantime, let us see what the Latin text offers us respecting the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena and compare it with its OHG counterpart afterwards. In the Latin text there is almost no difference between main and dependent clauses as far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned: in both main and dependent clauses there are around 39% of V2 structures, and the subject occupies the first place in around 22% of the total of these structures, as the table below presents:

Table 11. L1 and T1: synchronic comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
L1	38.01	77.69	22.30	39.32	78.57	21.42
T1	46.17	65.08	34.91	52.02	31.06	68.93

Moreover, it can be seen that *Tatian* and the *Vulgate* differ considerably as to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena. There are generally more V2 structures in *Tatian* than in the *Vulgate* in both main and dependent clauses, as well as there are more SV2-within-V2 structures in the total of the V2 structures found in *Tatian* main and dependent clauses than in the *Vulgate*. The conclusion is, therefore, that there is much less relation between *Tatian* and the *Vulgate* as regards the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena than there is with respect to the behaviour of objects.

2.4.4. The analysis of *Tatian* (T2) for comparison with T1 and L1

On the basis of the text samples that we have analysed, we could see what are the similarities and differences between the *Vulgate* and *Tatian*. We have also tried to establish the degree of Latin influence upon the OHG texts of the *Bible* and we obtained quite a clear picture as to that. However, the problem with sampling is that different text samples can give us different results, and consequently different conclusions might be arrived at, as well as different implications made. For this reason, in order to obtain a little more objective picture of the *Tatian* word order we analysed a much larger text sample of it, which we will call T2 from now on. Unfortunately, we have not yet managed to parse its Latin counterpart in order to see how the two large text samples relate and if there are the same correlations between them as there are between the smaller samples that we analysed above.

In the Table 12 we present the overall picture of the behaviour of all kinds of objects, both pronominal and nominal, in both main and dependent clauses of the three text samples that we have concentrated upon, that is, of T1, L1 and T2:

Table 12. L1, T1 and T2: comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV
L1	85.80	95.34	78.16	74.57	87.50	70.00	14.19	4.65	21.83	25.42	12.50	30.00
T1	86.54	98.92	75.82	55.38	30.00	72.97	13.45	1.07	24.17	44.61	70.00	27.02
T2	87.69	95.54	82.05	54.45	27.13	73.18	12.30	4.45	17.94	45.54	72.86	26.81

It can be seen that the difference between L1 and T1 is more or less the same as the difference between L1 and T2. It is interesting to note that there is not much difference between the results that we obtained for T1 and T2, and thus we can conclude that if we took a larger sample of the *Vulgate*, the counterpart of T2, we would obtain similar results and thus the two Latin samples would not differ much from each other, just as is the case with the two OHG samples. A further implication is that small text samples can be representative. Reliable and similar conclusions can be made as when larger text samples are taken into account. However, that can only be achieved when the same criteria are applied to the parsing of different texts.

If we compare the three text samples, that is, T1, T2 and L1, we will obtain the following data with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena:

Table 13. T1, T2 and L1: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2-within-V2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
L1	38.01	77.69	22.30	39.32	78.57	21.42
T1	46.17	65.08	34.91	52.02	31.06	68.93
T2	50.21	67.50	32.49	45.85	45.55	54.44

We can see that there is a slight difference between *Tatian* 1 and *Tatian* 2 especially in the area of dependent clauses, and that there is a significant difference between the OHG texts and the Latin text. We expect that a similar situation would exist between L1 and the Latin counterpart of T2 if we had one.

2.5. How much does Gothic tell us about the Proto-Germanic word order?

2.5.1. Introduction

In this section we are going to concentrate upon the analysis of Gothic, the oldest literary language of Germania. We will take into account a short text sample, the counterpart of T1 and of L1, that is the chapters Lk 1 and 2, and Mt 6 and 8. It is important to note that the Gothic version of the Bible is based upon the *Septuagint*, that is, upon the Greek text and is basically a literal translation of it. The translation was done by an Arian bishop named Wulfila who lived in the years c. 311—382 AD. In the analysis of Gothic we are not going to take into account any larger Gothic text samples in order to compare it with the smaller text sample, as we did in the analysis of *Tatian*. The prose texts of Gothic are, as we said, based upon the Greek language of that time and, as was the case with *Tatian*, much foreign influence can be expected in those texts. However, we expect to find some points where Gothic and Greek deviate from each other in such a way that we could arrive

at some conclusions with respect to what Gothic tells us about the Proto-Germanic word order.

2.5.2. Comparison of the *Gothic Bible* (Go1) with the *Septuagint* (Gr1)

We will start our analysis with the comparison of Gothic and Greek with respect to the behaviour of intransitive objects and prepositional objects, as well as of reflexive pronominal objects. To begin with, there are more prepositional objects in Gothic than in Greek: we spotted 28 of them in Gothic, out of which 6 are nominal, whereas in Greek we found 16 prepositional objects out of which 7 are nominal. However, in both Gothic and Greek all the prepositional objects follow the verb. As for reflexive prepositional objects, again there are more of them in Gothic than in Greek. In Gothic there are 10 reflexive prepositional objects, whereas in Greek there are only two of them and the rest are agglutinated to the verb. No matter what the proportion of this kind of objects in the two languages, all of them also follow the verb. As far as intransitive objects in Gothic are concerned, we found 13 pronominal ones and 3 nominal ones. Out of the total of the intransitive pronominal objects only one went before the verb in a main clause, and the rest, no matter what the clause, went after the verb. In Greek, on the other hand, we found 12 intransitive pronominal objects and 3 intransitive nominal ones and none of either pronominal or nominal objects occurred before the verb, whereas in Gothic one intransitive pronominal object occurred before the verb. This slight difference is very important for us, as the intransitive pronominal object occurs in Gothic in a structure that is not a word for word translation from Greek. The author of the *Gothic Bible* decided to use a different expression here to convey the same meaning expressed by a different expression in Greek. Let us have a look at it below:

(2.24) bi biuhtja gudjinassaus hlauts imma urrann **du saljan**, atgaggands in alh fraujins

+=+X+S+io(in)+V+,+*+**toinf**+X+,

κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχε **τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι** εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου

+=+X+V+**toinf**+X+,

Lk 1:9

We can see that in the Greek expression there is no pronominal object whatsoever and the expression used here is more like the '*to*-infinitive' type in Old English. Throughout the whole Gothic text that we analysed we found very few differences from the Greek text as regards the position of the object with respect to the verb, and whenever such a difference happened to occur, it was often the case that the object went after the verb in Gothic but it went before the verb in Greek, which seems to be basically an VO language. We will say more about the differences later on. Meanwhile, let us come back to the example above. On the basis of this example, we can conclude that, if it had not been for the influence of Greek, Gothic would look quite different and it would be much more 'Germanic' in the sense that there would be more objects occurring before the verb than after it, and the more so in dependent clauses. This opinion seems to be confirmed by other Gothic expressions that are not a word for word translation from Greek. In the example below the author of the *Gothic Bible* seems not to have had a ready-made Gothic equivalent of the word for a *leper*. He therefore seems to have invented the expression *Þrutsfill habands*, which is a periphrastic description of the Greek word *λεπρὸς*. In the Gothic expression *Þrutsfill habands* the object is placed in front of the verb, which in fact is a present participle; it should be noted that this expression is much of a connectorless dependent clause, and dependent clauses in Germanic preferred to place the object in front of the verb. Are such examples therefore in favour of Gothic being an OV language? It seems that they are. Let us have a look at the example below:

(2.25) jah sai, manna **þrutsfill habands** durinnands inwait ina qiþands
καὶ ἰδοὺ **λεπρὸς** προσελθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων
Mt 8:2

However, there are other 'innovative' examples in Gothic, where the object occurs after the verb, that speak in favour of its being a VO language; the innovation consists in the use of objects in Gothic although there are no objects in the Greek text. Let us have a look at the example below:

(2.26) jah ni **bigitandona ina** gawandidedun sik in Iairusalem sokjandona ina
καὶ μὴ **εὑρόντες** ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτόν
Lk 2:45

(2.27) **þugkeiþ im** auk ei in filuwaurdein seinai andhausjaindau
δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται
Mt 6:7

as well as at:

(2.28) jah was managei beidandans Zakariins, jah sildaleikidedun **hva latidedi ina** in þizai alh
καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν ζαχαρίαν, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον **ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν**
Lk 1:21

It is such innovations that result in slight differences between Greek and Gothic. These differences basically concern dependent clauses, as it is in this type of clauses that the two texts differ particularly. There are, however, other examples in Gothic that have the VO word order configurations, and thus they speak in favour of its being VO, but their Greek counterparts are OV in fact, as in:

(2.29) ni manna mag twaim fraujam skalkinon; unte jabai **fijaiþ ainana**, jah anþarana frijoþ
οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν: ἢ γὰρ **τὸν ἕνα μισήσει** καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει
Mt 6:24

or in:

(2.30) hvileiks ist sa, ei jah windos jah marei **ufhausjand imma**?
ποταπός ἐστιν οὗτος ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα **αὐτῷ ὑπακούουσιν**
Mt 8:27

In order to arrive at some more objective conclusions it would be necessary to take into account a much larger corpus, or ideally the whole *Gothic Bible*, and then to gather all of the differences with respect to Greek and observe some regularities that they manifest. What we can say with certainty, though, is that in the OHG *Tatian* there are many more innovations introduced with respect to word order and therefore there are more deviations from the original Latin text than there are in the case of Gothic and Greek. The innovations concern both the position of the object with relation to the verb, and the position of the adjective, or other modifiers, with respect to the noun, whereas in Gothic it is very hard to arrive at some conclusive data with respect to the position of noun modifiers. Moreover, on the basis of the small corpus we can say that the behaviour of noun modifiers in Gothic is quite unpredictable, as on the one hand they precede the noun, and at the same time deviate from the original Greek text, as in:

(2.31) jah hairdjos wesun in **þamma samin** landa
καὶ ποιμένες ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ **τῇ αὐτῇ**
Lk 2:8

and, on the other, they follow the noun and also deviate from the Greek text, as can be seen in the following examples:

(2.32) jah aiþei is gafastaida **þo waurda alla** in hairtin seinamma
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετήρει **πάντα τὰ ῥήματα** ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς
Lk 2:51

(2.33) iþ þu fastands salbo **haubiþ þein** jah **ludja þeina** þwah
σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἄλειψαί **σου τὴν κεφαλὴν** καὶ τὸ **πρόσωπόν σου** νίψαι
Mt 6:17

(2.34) jah suns hrain warþ þata **þrutsfill is**
καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθαρίσθη **αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα**
Mt 8:3

(2.35) frauja, ni im wairþs ei **uf hrot mein** inngaggais, ak þatainei qiþ waurda jah gahailniþ sa þiumagus meins
κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς ἵνα **μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην** εἰσέλθῃς: ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου
Mt 8:8

It needs to be said, however, that we generally found many more examples of the latter than of the former. Such findings would, in turn, speak more in favour of Gothic being an VO language rather than OV. But, as we said earlier on, we do not directly relate the position of modifiers with the position of objects. There are also other differences in Gothic that we consider of minor importance and thus we are not going to concentrate upon them. Suffice it to say that they mainly concern the use of the passive voice in Gothic where Greek uses the active voice, or they also concern the position of the verb with respect to the subject.

Now we will have a look at what is the general situation of all kinds of objects in the Gothic text and then we will compare it with the Greek text. We discovered that the VO word order configurations constitute 87.17%, whereas the rest are OV. It is exactly like in the Greek text, where we found 87.09% of VO word orders. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, there are more differences between the two texts. In Gothic, the VO word order configurations constitute 88% of the total of the VO and OV word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 12%. In Greek, on the other hand, there are fewer VO word order configurations and they constitute 82.60%, whereas the OV word orders constitute 17.39% of the total of VO and OV

word order configurations. This difference, as mentioned above, is mainly due to the fact that Gothic used many innovative analytical structures, especially in dependent clauses, that tried to convey the same meaning expressed by absolute constructions and verbal nouns in Greek; unlike for Greek, it was not so natural for Gothic to use such structures, and whenever they appear in Gothic, they seem to be more of an imitation of the Greek structures rather than an inborn linguistic feature. The example below illustrates the problem:

(2.36) jah was managei beidandans Zakariins, jah sildaleikidedun **hva latidedi ina** in þizai alh
καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν ζαχαρίαν, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον **ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν**
Lk 1:21

In the Greek expression *ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν* it is not possible to treat the pronoun *αὐτόν*, which is in the accusative case, in the same way as in Gothic, because the verb is a kind of a verbal noun, and thus is not a finite verb form. Moreover, this part of the text cannot so readily be classified as a dependent clause. It is not the case with its Gothic counterpart however. Here it can clearly be seen that we have to do with a full dependent clause, where there is a finite verb form that selects the object *ina* 'him'. That there are more OV dependent clause word order configurations in Greek is also due the fact that at some points Greek preferred to use the OV word order configurations, whereas Gothic employed the VO ones; therefore, we can say that the difference between Gothic and Greek dependent clauses is smaller than the percentages imply and there is a more or less equal balance between the position of objects in main and dependent clauses of the Greek text.

On the whole we can conclude that Gothic was influenced much more by Greek than was Old High German by Latin, as, unlike Old High German, Gothic does not seem to observe the rules that apply to the position of the object in the dependent clauses of Germanic languages. However, we cannot say exactly to what extent Gothic, an East-Germanic language, employed the dependent clause word order typical of the West-Germanic branch of languages. We can however deduce that since it was a Germanic language it must have placed the object more often before the verb in dependent clauses than in main clauses, unless this characteristic feature of West-Germanic developed after the separation of Gothic from the rest of the Germanic branch of languages, which in turn would imply that Gothic did not have this dependent clause feature at all. Another possibility is that Gothic was influenced by some non-Germanic languages of the east that

did not make any distinction between the placement of the object in main and dependent clauses. However, rather than giving preference to any specific factor, it would probably be most reasonable to claim that all of the above mentioned factors played their role in the shaping of Gothic. And finally, no matter what the circumstances, we can be sure that Greek had a significant impact upon the Gothic word order and there is no question about it.

As far as the position of pronominal objects in Gothic is concerned, we obtained the following picture for their behaviour in main clauses: the VO word order configurations constitute 98.80%, whereas the OV ones constitute 1.19%. If compared with the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects in Greek, there is no difference with respect to the percentages obtained both for the VO and OV word order configurations. As for the behaviour of nominal objects in main clauses of Gothic, according to our calculations there are 76.62% of them that are placed after the verb, whereas 23.37% occur before it. As far as the Greek text is concerned, the situation is quite analogical. The conclusion is that if we compare the behaviour of objects in both Gothic and Greek main clauses, we will see that main clause word orders in Gothic generally go hand in hand with the word orders found in Greek.

Concerning dependent clauses, in Gothic there are 95% of pronominal objects that are placed after the verb, whereas 5% occur before it. When compared with Greek, it can be observed that in Gothic there are a bit more configurations where the pronominal objects are placed after the verb, as in Gothic there are 95% of them, whereas in Greek the percentage drops down to 87.50% of the total of all the investigated dependent clause pronominal objects. As for the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects in Gothic, we discovered that the VO word orders constitute 84.37%, whereas the OV ones constitute 15.62%. In Greek, on the other hand, there are more OV word order configurations than in Gothic, just like was the case with the behaviour of pronominal objects: the VO word orders constitute 80.64%, whereas the OV ones constitute 19.35%.

Now it is time to see how the data that we obtained for Gothic and Greek compare with the data that we obtained for Latin and Old High German. If we take all the data together, we will obtain the following overall picture:

Table 14. Go1, Gr1, L1, T1 and T2: synchronic comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nomi-nal VO	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nomi-nal VO	all OV	prono-minal oV	nomi-nal OV	all OV	prono-minal oV	nomi-nal OV
L1	85.80	95.34	78.16	74.57	87.50	70.00	14.19	4.65	21.83	25.42	12.50	30.00
T1	86.54	98.92	75.82	55.38	30.00	72.97	13.45	1.07	24.17	44.61	70.00	27.02
T2	87.69	95.54	82.05	54.45	27.13	73.18	12.30	4.45	17.94	45.54	72.86	26.81
Go1	87.17	98.80	76.62	88.00	95.00	84.37	12.82	1.19	23.37	12.00	5.00	15.62
Gr1	87.09	98.80	76.25	82.60	87.50	80.64	12.90	1.19	23.75	17.39	12.50	19.35

It is worth noticing how Latin compares with Greek. On the whole, Latin does not differ much from Greek and there are actually more similarities than differences. Special attention should be paid to the behaviour of pronominal objects in dependent clauses, where Latin and Greek go hand in hand particularly. The biggest differences, which are relatively not so big in fact, concern the area of the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects and the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects. Otherwise the two texts are basically identical. As to the behaviour of objects in all of the texts compared in the table above, the idea that pronominal objects tend to occur more often before the verb than nominal objects do, does not hold here at all, except for *Tatian* dependent clauses. It was not the case with the runic inscriptions of all the three periods for that matter. The conclusion therefore is that the original texts had a considerable influence upon the languages into which they were translated.

Let us now compare Gothic and Greek with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, and later on we will make a general comparison of all the biblical texts that we have discussed so far. In Gothic, the V2 structures occupy 36.68% in main clauses, and the subject is placed in the first position in 20.96% of the total of the V2 structures. The situation is different in dependent clauses, where the V2 structures constitute 21.17%, and the subject occupies the first place in 27.77% of all of the V2 structures. The conclusion is, therefore, that there are more V2 structures in main clauses than in dependent clauses, but at the same time there are fewer SV2-within-V2 structures in main clauses than in dependent clauses. In Greek, on the other hand, the situation is slightly different, as there are 38.62% of the V2 structures in main clauses, and the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 20.15% of the total of main clause V2 structures. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the V2 structures constitute 18.30%, whereas the SV2-

within-V2 structures constitute 32.14% of the total of the dependent clause V2 structures. If we compare synchronically the V2 and SV2 structures in Greek and in Gothic, we will discover that there are not any significant differences between Gothic and Greek, and they basically concern dependent clauses, namely there are more V2 structures in Gothic dependent clauses, but the subject occupies the first position in more V2 structures of the Greek dependent clauses than of the Gothic ones. As for the main clauses, the only noticeable difference is that Greek has slightly more V2 structures than Gothic.

And finally, we will have a look at the comparison of all the biblical texts analysed so far with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena of both main and dependent clauses:

Table 15. L1, T1, Go1, Gr1 and T2: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
L1	38.01	77.69	22.30	39.32	78.57	21.42
T1	46.17	65.08	34.91	52.02	31.06	68.93
T2	50.21	67.50	32.49	45.85	45.55	54.44
Go1	36.68	79.03	20.96	21.17	72.22	27.77
Gr1	38.62	79.84	20.15	18.30	67.85	32.14

On the whole, we can say that Old High German deviates much more from the original text than Gothic does, and thus it is more reliable as far as the discussion of Proto-Germanic word order is concerned.

2.6. The *West-Saxon Bible* (WSB1): how much of Englishness?

In this section we are going to analyse a few chapters from the West-Saxon versions of the Bible, an Old English text that most probably was written in the first half of the eleventh century, but it might have been written much earlier. The analysis of the Old English text will be done in order to compare it with the other biblical texts that we have so far analysed; in the subsequent sections of this book we will concentrate upon Old English word order in more detail.

As far as pronominal and nominal objects are concerned, we obtained the following data for their behaviour in main clauses: the majority of word orders are VO and they constitute 71.59% of the total of VO and OV word orders. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is quite the reverse, as there are 74.64% of OV word order configurations, whereas the VO configurations constitute only 25.35%. It is not surprising that dependent clauses are mainly OV, because it was a feature of Germanic languages, but it is surprising that the Old English biblical text deviates in this respect so much from the original Latin text. However, we will restrain ourselves from further conclusions as to the word order differences between the two texts until later on. Let us now have a look at what is the situation with main clause pronominal objects. It occurs that the ones that are placed after the verb form a noticeable majority of all the main clause pronominal objects that we investigated in the corpus. There are 70.65% of them, and those that appear before the verb constitute 29.34% of the total of all main clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. As to nominal main clause objects, on the other hand, according to our analysis there are 76.08% of those that are placed after the verb, whereas the objects occurring before the verb constitute 23.91%. Furthermore, if we compare the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects with the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, we will see that pronominal objects appear more often before the verb than nominal objects do. The difference is not a huge one, but it is very significant for us because Old English is exceptional with respect to that, as both Old High German and Gothic followed the original texts much more closely and they used pronominal objects relatively much more frequently after the verb than nominal objects. This will be more evident when we make a synchronic comparison of all the biblical texts that we are concerned with here. In the meantime, let us have a look at the behaviour of dependent clause pronominal objects. We discovered that 97.14% of all the pronominal objects that we investigated are placed before the verb, and 2.85% of them go after it. As for the behaviour of nominal objects, on the other hand, the situation is much more different, as out of the total of the investigated dependent clause nominal objects 57.50% appear before the verb and 42.50% go after it. Furthermore, if we take all the data that we obtained for both main and dependent clause nominal and pronominal objects, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 16. WSB1: synchronic comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	76.08	42.5	Vo	70.65	2.85
OV	23.91	57.5	oV	29.34	97.14

On the whole, there is a huge disproportion between main and dependent clauses with respect to the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects, and the situation in the Old English biblical text is similar to that of the runic inscriptions. Moreover, although the *West-Saxon Bible* is rather a free translation from Latin, there can be observed some Latin influence especially when the direct utterances of the speakers are translated by the author. Otherwise, in the language of narration, or description of the scene, where the direct words of the speakers are not given, the author of the *West-Saxon Bible* allowed himself more freedom as to the choice of words, and the translation was not so literal.

As to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, according to our calculations, in the *Anglo-Saxon Bible* the V2 constructions constitute 53.62% of all the investigated main clause structures. Moreover, out of the total of the V2 main clause structures 39.61% have the subject in the first position. As to dependent clauses, the V2 structures constitute 36.92% of the total of the investigated dependent clause structures, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 77.77%.

2.7. The influence of Latin and Greek upon the translations of the Bible into the oldest Germanic dialects

In this section we will make a comparison of all the data that we obtained for the behaviour of all objects, both pronominal and nominal, as well as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in all of the biblical texts that we have analysed so far, in order to see to what extent they deviate from the original texts. We will first have a look at what is the situation with the behaviour of objects. Below is a table that presents the data:

Table 17. L1, T1, T2, Go1, Gr1 and WSB1: synchronic comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO
L1	85.80	95.34	78.16	74.57	87.50	70.00	14.19	4.65	21.83	25.42	12.50	30.00
T1	86.54	98.92	75.82	55.38	30.00	72.97	13.45	1.07	24.17	44.61	70.00	27.02
T2	87.69	95.54	82.05	54.45	27.13	73.18	12.30	4.45	17.94	45.54	72.86	26.81
Go1	87.17	98.80	76.62	88.00	95.00	84.37	12.82	1.19	23.37	12.00	5.00	15.62
Gr1	87.09	98.80	76.25	82.60	87.50	80.64	12.90	1.19	23.75	17.39	12.50	19.35
WSB1	71.59	70.65	76.08	25.35	2.85	42.50	28.40	29.34	23.91	74.64	97.14	57.50

As far as the OV word order configurations in main clauses are concerned, it is the *West-Saxon Bible* that deviates most from the original Latin text. The deviations from the original mainly concern the placement of pronominal objects, since the placement of nominal main clause objects here, and this also refers to the other texts, is actually identical with the original text. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, the *Anglo-Saxon Bible* differs tremendously from the original text, as the practice of placing the objects before the verb increases nearly twice for nominal objects and nearly eight times for pronominal objects. This situation results in that the biblical OE text is practically OV in dependent clauses. The only biblical text that equals Old English in this respect is the OHG *Tatian*, and only in the area of the placement of pronominal objects, since nominal objects behave more or less the same as in the original; in *Tatian* dependent clauses the practice of placing pronominal objects before the verb is nearly six times higher than in the original text. The conclusion here is that Old English, and to a lesser extent Old High German, is the best continuation of the runic tradition as far as word order is concerned. Old English is basically VO in main clauses, and basically OV in dependent clauses. Moreover, Old English continues to place relatively more pronominal objects before the verb in both main and dependent clauses than it does nominal ones, however the more so in dependent clauses. Old High German is similar in this respect as far as dependent clauses are concerned.

If we compare all the biblical texts that we have so far analysed, we will obtain the following picture with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena there:

Table 18. L1, T1, T2, Go1, Gr1 and WSB1: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
L1	38.01	77.69	22.30	39.32	78.57	21.42
T1	46.17	65.08	34.91	52.02	31.06	68.93
T2	50.21	67.50	32.49	45.85	45.55	54.44
Go1	36.68	79.03	20.96	21.17	72.22	27.77
Gr1	38.62	79.84	20.15	18.30	67.85	32.14
WSB1	53.62	60.38	39.61	36.92	22.22	77.77

What we can observe is that there is a huge disproportion with respect to the V2 structures and the SV2-within-V2 structures. This observation particularly refers to the dependent clauses of the texts in question. The only text that follows the original very closely is the text of the *Gothic Bible*.

2.8. Proto-Germanic word order according to our analysis

We will now try to give some general implications as to what the Proto-Germanic word order looked like according to the analysis of the corpus that we have investigated so far. In the table below we present the data that we obtained for the behaviour of all objects, both pronominal and nominal, with respect to the verb in the prose texts that we have analysed plus the runic inscriptions. Moreover, we provide the table with two additional columns for the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in order to see the possible correlations between the OV-to-VO word order change and the two phenomena; we have so far seen that at least there is a correlation between the OV-to-VO word order change and the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon. Before we make a detailed analysis of the table, however, we need to say that, as to the V2 phenomenon, one needs to treat the data with more distance than the rest of the data obtained. This mainly concerns dependent clauses. It is so because we have not got a clear definition of a dependent clause. There is no problem with a clause that has the basic sentence elements, or at least the subject (be it present physically or implied) and a finite-verb form. When we are sure that such a clause cannot stand alone and is usually introduced by a dependent clause connector, then the situation is most likely unambiguous. The problem starts when a given clause has no finite verb form and it cannot

stand alone either, because its meaning is determined by the main clause. What we mean are clauses that have only non-finite verb forms, but they may have other basic sentence elements like the object or the subject, etc. The examples below will best illustrate the problem:

(2.37) þa wearð zacharias gedrefed **þæt geseonde** and him ege onhreas
WSCp Lk 1:12
+=+X+V+S+papt+,+*+**do**+**prpt**+,+con=+io(in)+S+V+,

The clause *þæt geseonde* 'seeing that' should be treated as a subordinate clause because it can be replaced by the clause 'when he saw that'. However, we did not treat the participle *geseonde* as an ordinary finite verb, and thus it did not count in the analysis of the V2 phenomenon. Participles, however, sometimes occur in the first position and then a finite verb form follows, which qualifies the clause as an XV2 clause. In another example the non-finite verb form is an infinitive:

(2.38) and he gæð toforan him on gaste. and elias mihte. þæt he fædera heortan to heora bearnum gecyrre. and ungeleaffulle to rihtwisra gleawscype. drihtne fullfremed folc **gegearwian**
WSCp Lk 1:17
+con=+s+V+X+,+con*+s+DO+X+V+,+*+IO+DO+**inf**+,

The first dependent clause in the example above is an ordinary 'that-clause' containing a finite-verb form and, therefore, there is no question about its being a dependent clause. But the non-finite clause *drihtne fullfremed folc gegearwian* 'to prepare God a perfect people' is a dependent clause, but we did not treat the infinitive 'gegearwian' as an ordinary verb, and thus such clauses were not considered in the discussion of the V2 phenomenon. In yet other examples which also did not count as regards the V2 phenomenon, the non-finite verb form is a '*to*-infinitive'. It is also some kind of a dependent clause and thus, as was the case with the above two examples, we tagged it as dependent by means of the asterisk:

(2.39) Onlihtan þam þe on ðystrum and on deaþes sceade sittað. ure fet **to gereccenne** on sybbe weg
WSCp Lk 1:79
+con*+X+V+,+*+DO+**toinf**+X+,

(2.40) & hig hyrmdon & cwædon, La Hælend Godes sunu, hwæt ys þe & us gemæne; Come þu hider ær tide us **to þreagenne**?
WSCp Mt 8:29
+con=+s+V+,+=+X+s+V+io(in)+X+,+=+V+s+X+,+*+do+**toinf**+,

Although there are a substantial number of such clauses in the *West-Saxon Bible* and other biblical texts that we analysed, especially in the Greek text, we classified them as dependent clauses but that did not count in the consideration of the V2 phenomenon, unless they contained a finite-verb form. Therefore, one of the direct consequences of such a procedure is that we obtained a much increased number of dependent clauses that in turn resulted in that the number of V2 structures in dependent clauses automatically got decreased. All this implies that the picture of the V2 phenomenon is somewhat distorted when compared with that obtained for main clauses. For example, in the West-Saxon biblical fragments that we compared with Gothic and Old High German, we found 195 dependent clauses and the V2 structures constituted 36.92% of all of the investigated dependent clauses, and the SV2 structures constituted 77.77% of the total of the V2 structures. If the dependent clauses had been treated in a different way we would consequently have obtained different numbers and thus different percentages, depending on the criteria employed.

No matter what the situation with the V2 phenomenon, let us now have a look at the table below in order to see how the data for the behaviour of objects, as well as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena that we have obtained for all the texts analysed so far compare:

Table 19. RP I, RP II, RP III, L1, T1, T2, Go1, Gr1 and WSB1: diachronic comparison of V2, SV2 and OV in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Word order configurations									
	main clauses					dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV	V2	SV2	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV
RP I	44.44	68.75	20.68	100.00	17.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
RP II	80.33	94.60	3.91	25.00	3.15	53.65	27.27	73.33	100.00	63.63
RP III	77.04	91.48	18.00	33.33	6.89	83.33	40.00	75.00	100.00	50.00
L1	38.01	22.30	14.19	4.65	21.83	39.32	21.42	25.42	12.50	30.00
T1	46.17	34.91	13.45	1.07	24.17	52.02	68.93	44.61	70.00	27.02
T2	50.21	32.49	12.30	4.45	17.94	45.85	54.44	45.54	72.86	26.81
Go1	36.68	20.96	12.82	1.19	23.37	21.17	27.77	12.00	5.00	15.62
Gr1	38.62	20.15	12.90	1.19	23.75	18.30	32.14	17.39	12.50	19.35
ASB1	53.62	39.61	28.40	29.34	23.91	36.92	77.77	74.64	97.14	57.50

If we take the runic inscriptions as texts that best reflect what was the situation with respect to word order in Proto-Germanic, then according to

the table Old English seems to be the closest to the runic inscriptions out of all of the texts that underwent our analysis; this observation at least refers to some of the areas of the language. If we take the main clauses first, we will see that, unlike what the situation was with Gothic and Old High German, in Old English pronominal objects behave more or less alike when compared with the first and second period of the runic inscriptions, as around 30% of all of the pronominal objects precede the verb. Moreover, this results in that pronominal objects occur with a higher frequency before the verb than do nominal objects, which means that they are more likely to occupy the position before the verb than after it. As for the behaviour of nominal objects, it can be seen that Old English, Old High German, and Gothic compare very well with the first runic period, but that OHG *Tatian* 2 is the closest to it. It can also be seen that across the three runic periods (and also across the history of English, as will be seen later on) there is a general tendency towards the increase of the SV2-within-V2 structures. We cannot say much about the other texts with respect to that because we lack the analysis of the necessary texts that would allow us a diachronic comparison. Therefore, one of the implications here would be, as we observed before, that there is a connection between the development of the SV2-within-V2 structures and the loss of OV word order patterns. However, as to the V2 phenomenon, according to Fisher *et al*. (2000: 83) 'it is worth emphasising that the phenomenon of Verb-Second is in principle independent of the order of object and verb.' As far as dependent clauses are concerned, it can be seen that Old English again best reflects what the situation in the runic inscriptions was; unfortunately, we lack the data for the first runic period due to the fact that we found no dependent clauses in this particular period. If we take together all the objects, both nominal and pronominal, we will see that in Old English and in runic inscriptions there are about 75% of nominal objects that go before the verb. If we only take the behaviour of pronominal objects with respect to the verb, we will notice that up to 100% of the total of them precede the verb; in the second place is the text of OHG *Tatian* that has around 70% of pronominal objects occurring before the verb. As to the behaviour of nominal objects, it can be seen that in both Old English and the first runic and the second runic period there are around 60% that precede the verb. In the second place after Old English with respect to that, is OHG *Tatian* again, where around 30% of nominal objects go before the verb. As to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in dependent clauses there are no striking correspondences between the runic inscriptions and the biblical texts that we analysed. *Tatian* seems to be the closest to the runic inscriptions with respect to that, but the correspondence is not very striking.

On the basis of our analysis we can therefore propose the following characteristics for the Proto-Germanic word order:

- in main clauses:
  - — it was predominantly VO,
  - — pronominal objects occurred a lot more often before the verb than nominal objects,
  - — there was a general tendency towards the loss of the OV patterns and an increase of the SV2-within-V2 patterns,
  - — pronominal objects tended to stay longer before the verb than nominal objects when the language was changing towards VO.
- in dependent clauses:
  - — it was predominantly OV,
  - — up to 100% of pronominal objects preceded the verb,
  - — much more nominal objects preceded the verb than in main clauses,
  - — the loss of the OV patterns was much slower than in main clauses,
  - — nominal objects were more likely to be arranged according to the VO pattern than were pronominal objects,
  - — there was a general tendency towards the loss of OV patterns and the increase of SV2-within-V2 patterns.

Chapter 3

Old English word order

3.1. Some characteristics of the Old English word order

In this part we are going to take into account some Old English texts in order to investigate the word order tendencies in the Old English word order. But before we get down to the empirical analysis of them, we would like to give some theoretical background for this analysis. So far we have not discussed the phenomena of Old English word order in much detail but only mentioned some of its characteristics here and there. We will now have a look at a more systematic approach concerning this issue.

As Molencki (1997: 30) points out, three major surface word order patterns have been distinguished in the literature concerning Old English word order:

I. Main clause order SVO.
II. Interrogative XVS, also found after most initial adverbials.
III. Subordinate clause order SOV.

One of the most extensive and systematic accounts of the problem of Old English word order has been done within the framework of generative grammar and thus we will now spend some time discussing some of its basic assumptions. A summary of the main characteristics that generative grammarians have proposed to account for the Old English surface word orders in the Government Binding theory can be found in Koopman (1991), who points out that there is now a fairly general consensus that Old English was SOV underlyingly; Van Kemenade (1987) also provides

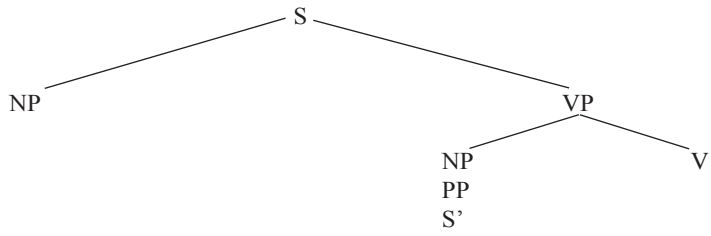
detailed evidence for the hypothesis that the underlying word order of Old English was SOV. Moreover, this order type must be viewed as the basic order from which all possible surface word order patterns must be derived in different ways. The most important rule for main clauses is the Verb-Second Rule (or V2); this rule also applies up to the present day in some modern Germanic languages such as German and Dutch. By means of this rule the finite verb in main clauses is usually placed in the second position. In main clauses where the object is pronominal the order is frequently SOV; Van Kemenade (1987) treats pronominal objects as clitics, which, as Koopman (1991) observes, provides a good explanation for a different syntactic behaviour of pronominal objects in this respect and makes it possible to retain the V2 analysis. However, there are numerous examples of main clauses with SOV order where the object is nominal. In Old English any sentence elements can be topicalised, and therefore 'topicalisation' can be mentioned as the second rule which mostly affects main clauses. The topicalised element should typically be followed by the finite verb (though pronominal subjects are usually found before the verb) but there are deviations from the expected order. As regards subordinate clauses, Koopman (1991) adds, topicalisation is rare in them, because usually there is no topic position in such clauses; most of these clauses come after verbs of saying and reporting.

Furthemore, Koopman (1991) proposes the process of 'extraposition' as the third rule. It affects both main and subordinate clauses; however, the extraposed elements cannot be always recognised in main clauses with V2, because the VP is no longer clearly marked. The effect of extraposition can especially be seen in main clauses where there are two verbs. As far as subordinate clauses are concerned, extraposition can more easily be found in them, as there are more SOV patterns. Moreover, in extraposition, not only heavy and long elements are extraposed but also light and short ones. However, the heavier and longer the elements, the more likely they are to undergo the process of extraposition. According to Koopman (1991), V2 cannot apply in subordinate clauses because the COMP position to which the verb must move is already occupied by a complementiser; it is the reason why there are many clauses with SOV order where the finite verb is near the end of the clause. However, clauses with the finite verb near the front of the clause are not uncommon. As to coordinated main clauses, they show characteristics of both main and subordinate clauses. In this respect they can be classified as occupying a position halfway between the main and subordinate types of clauses. As in main clauses, they can have a topic position, can show clitic positions typical of main clauses, but they can also show the SOV patterns and sometimes the verb clusters (non-finite — finite) of subordinate clauses.

As a concluding remark, KOOPMAN (1991) says that having in mind the above rules a large part of OE syntax can be dealt with, though there are still lots of problems to be resolved. The above data also suggest that the OE word order was by no means free and that it shows much more regularity than can be expected from its patterns. While taking up the problem of freedom of OE word order, MOLENCKI (1997: 31) remarks that 'for obvious reasons, such as especially much richer inflections, it certainly was freer than in Modern English, but just like Modern English, Old English has both acceptable and unacceptable patterns. There are patterns which, statistically speaking, are more frequent than others, yet this fact should not give rise to overgeneralization.' It has been said that the underlying word order in Old English was SOV. However, there have also been claims that the OE word order was SVO underlyingly. As VAN KEMENADE (1987) remarks, there are basically two reasons why SOV underlying order is controversial from the superficial point of view. The first is that the finite verb is in the second constituent position; due to the fact that the first constituent position is occupied by the subject very frequently, this results in many SVO, as well as XVSO patterns in main clauses. The second reason why the SOV underlying order is put to doubt is that there are sentences that seem to show that embedded clauses also have V2 phenomenon. However, the phenomenon differs considerably from that of V2 typical of main clauses, as in embedded clauses the first constituent which precedes the finite verb is always the subject, and the finite verb is not always placed in second position but is often present in third position.

That the SOV order is underlying in Old English means for VAN KEMENADE (1987) that a sentence S rewrites as an NP and a VP, and in a VP the verb is base-generated in final position:

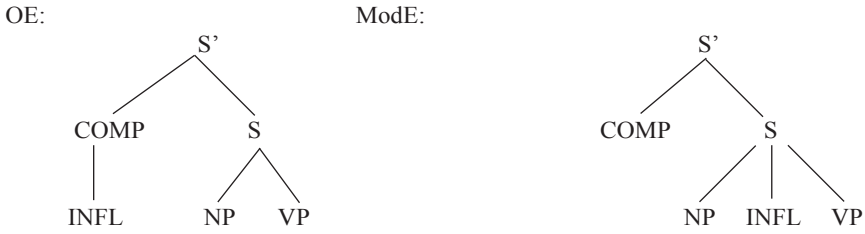
Diagram 1.



(VAN KEMENADE 1987: 16)

Having established the underlying word order for Old English, VAN KEMENADE compares it with the Modern English word order. The basic difference is that ModE is SVO underlyingly, both in main and in subordinate clauses. However, there is another crucial difference between the two word orders: in Old English, INFL is in COMP, whereas ModE has INFL in S, as is illustrated by the diagram below:

Diagram 2.



As a concluding remark, Van Kemenade (1987: 62—63) proposes the following characteristics of the Old English word order:

a) the underlying word order is SOV,
b) there is a (comparatively free) process of extraposition,
c) there is a rule of V2 in root clauses,
d) there is a (comparatively free) process of V-raising (whereby an infinitive verb or its projection is moved to the right of a modal verb base-generated in sentence final position).

Molencki (1997) points out that a more detailed study of any Old English text shows that the conclusions found in most histories of English syntax are nothing more than overgeneralizations and simplifications of a very complex phenomenon. Therefore, one should be careful while accounting for the Old English underlying word order. He examined a corpus of Alfredian prose and he was able to find much evidence that is not in keeping with the generally accepted 'rule' and the SVO order, which seems to be basically the marker of main clauses, can frequently be found in subordinate clauses as well. He concludes that what plays a major role in word order patterning is pragmatics, and in many cases one is simply helpless without a native informant. For example, the linguists have no access to intonation patterns of a dead language, and it is difficult to recreate the original ideas that stood behind the way the OE writers constructed their clauses. Besides, as Mitchell (1985: §3889) observed, the speakers and writers often vary the order for pedagogic, rhetorical, or stylistic reasons (for more information about Old English word order see Visser 1963; Hogg 1992; Blake 1992).

Rybarkiewicz (1977) points to the fact that the SVO sequence predominates in ModE and that if any inversion of that sequence were applied it would have a more or less clearly marked character. However, the SVO sequence is only one of many possibilities in Old English and as a matter of fact all six major word order patterns appear in Old English, and one cannot say that any one of them is basic or fundamental in relation to the others. He maintains that the so-called communicative principle or Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) of the Prague School explains the phenomenon of

OE word order quite satisfactorily. According to FSP previously mentioned information with lower degree of Communicative Dynamism (CD) is placed initially or towards the beginning of the clause; thus what is new in the communicative process is placed after the given. The order *given-new* (theme-rheme) is typical of unemotive messages, whereas emotiveness (the stressing of any item either contrastively or to display emotional attitude toward what is being stated) of the message tends to reverse that order into *new-given* (rheme-theme). To give an example, pronominal forms, unless contrastive, are usually thematic because shorter words generally appear more often then longer ones. The latter also normally carry a greater communicative load and they constitute the new information in the message (FSP) and are at the same time heavy in terms of the 'heaviness' principle, whereby it is possible to account for one basic word order in terms of size, weight, and structural complexity of each element. The other elements constitute the given and remain light. Rybarkiewicz (1977) further points out that the obvious proof that OE structures are susceptible to FSP requirements is the regularity of placement of pronominal O before V and nominal O after it, as in:

(3.1) ond he *hine* ofslog

(3.2) ond he ofslog *þone aldor mon*

In Example 3.1 O is thematic, being previously mentioned and thus is placed before a more important V, whereas in 3.2 O (recipient of the action exerted by S) is the most important item because it is mentioned for the first time in the process of communication. It is therefore fully rhematic, new and V gets in such a case only transitional value in terms of communication. Moreover, Rybarkiewicz (1977) observes that when all the three major constituents are present (S, V, O or C) and O is not pronominal, the transitional value of V causes that the most optimal placement is in the middle (SVO or OVS patterns).

After this short introduction we will have a look at a more detailed and empirical analysis of the phenomenon of word order in Old English. We will start with the analysis of the Old English *Orosius*.

3.2. The analysis of the Old English *Orosius*

In this section we are going to analyse the entire text of the Old English version of *Orosius*. The Old English *Orosius* is a translation of the Latin *Orosius* written in the fifth century by Paulus Orosius. The translation into

the West-Saxon dialect of Old English dates to the end of the ninth century AD and it was effected by King Alfred. It is rather a free translation of the original and the Old English text deviates from Latin considerably.

According to the data that we obtained for the behaviour of objects, both nominal and pronominal, there are 49.46% of main clause word order configurations, whereas the OV main clause word orders constitute 50.53%. As for dependent clauses, on the other hand, there are fewer VO word order configurations here, as the VO word orders constitute 22.43% of the total of the OV/VO word order configurations that we investigated in the dependent clauses. The OV word orders, on the other hand, constitute 77.56%. If we now turn to the data that we obtained after having made the division into pronominal objects and nominal objects, we will see that the picture changes significantly. In the main clauses there are 67.27% of nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the nominal objects that go before the verb constitute 32.72% of the total of main clause objects appearing either before or after the verb. As far as the position of main clause pronominal objects is concerned, we found out that there are incomparatively fewer of those appearing after the verb than there were nominal objects, namely there are 19.93% of pronominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas 80.06% of them appear before it. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is much different from that of main clauses. According to our calculations, there are 38.02% of nominal objects appearing after the verb, whereas 61.97% of them occur before it. As for the behaviour of dependent clause pronominal objects, we found out that there are as few as 3.50% of them appearing after the verb, while 96.49% of them occur before it.

On the basis of our analysis, we can conclude that there are generally more nominal objects that appear after the verb in main clauses than in dependent ones, and that there are incomparatively more pronominal objects that appear before the verb in dependent clauses that in main clauses. Moreover, nominal objects generally appear with more frequency after the verb than do pronominal objects, as pronominal objects generally prefer to stay before the verb in *Orosius*, and this observation particularly concernes dependent clauses.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, according to our calculations there are 49.55% of V2 structures in main clauses, while in dependent clauses the number is smaller, as there are 32.40% of them there. However, although there are more V2 structures in main clauses than in dependent ones, there are many more SV2-within-V2 structures in dependent clauses than in main clauses: in dependent clauses there are 62.77%, whereas in main clauses there are 30.10% of them.

Although there are more SV2-within-V2 structures in the dependent clauses, there are fewer VO word order configurations in them than in main

clauses, so in this respect the two phenomena, the VO word order configurations and the SV2-within-V2, do not correlate very much.

3.3. The analysis of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*

In this section we are going to concentrate upon our analysis of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. We are actually going to compare two pieces of text: one of them will be the Old English Preface to the *Catholic Homilies* (PrefÆCH) and the other will be the first homily (ÆFCH) taken out of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* dated for AD 989.

We will start our analysis with a general look at the main clause word order configurations. In the main clauses of the Preface there are 87.50% of VO word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 12.50%. In the first Homily, on the other hand, there are fewer VO main clause word orders and they amount to 72.32%, whereas there are 27.67% of the OV configurations. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, in the Preface there are 38.88% of VO word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 61.11%. In the first Homily, on the other hand, there are more dependent clause VO configurations, and they constitute 50.72%, whereas the OV word orders constitute 49.27%. If we compare both main and dependent clauses of the two texts, we will obtain the following data:

Table 20. Ælfric's Preface and Ælfric's Homily 1: synchronic comparison of main and dependent clause word orders

Text	Main	Number	Percent	Dependent	Number	Percent
PrefÆCH	VO	28	87.50	VO	14	38.88
ÆFCH	VO	115	72.32	VO	35	50.72
PrefÆCH	OV	4	12.50	OV	22	61.11
ÆFCH	OV	44	27.67	OV	34	49.27

As can be seen, the two texts differ more in main clauses (by about 15%) than in dependent clauses (by about 12%), but the difference is not so high. Whereas main clauses are basically VO, dependent clauses still have comparatively many OV word orders: in the Preface there are over 61% of them and in the first Homily about 50%.

As regards the behaviour of pronominal objects in the main clauses of the Preface, there are 66.66% of them occurring after the verb, whereas the pronominal objects that appear before the verb constitute 33.33%. The situa-

tion is a little different in the first Homily, where the pronominal objects that occur after the verb constitute 49.01%, whereas 50.98% go in front of the verb out of the total of pronominal objects occurring either before or after the verb. So the difference between the two texts amounts to more or less 15% in this respect. Furthermore, as far as nominal main clause objects are concerned, in the Preface there are 92.30% of them appearing after the verb, whereas 7.69% go before it. In the first Homily, on the other hand, there are 84.67% of nominal objects that go after the verb, whereas 15.32% of them appear before it. In consequence, there is around 8% of difference between the two texts with respect to nominal objects placed either before or after the verb. As far as the behaviour of pronominal objects in dependent clauses is concerned, in the Preface there are 100% of those that appear before the verb and consequently 0% that go after it. In the first Homily, on the other hand, there are 18.51% of dependent clause pronominal objects that appear after the verb, and as many as 81.48% go before it. So if we compare the two texts we will see that there is about 20% of difference between them as regards the position of pronominal objects with respect to the verb. As for the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects in the Preface, there are 56% of those that appear after the verb, whereas 44% appear before the verb. In the first Homily, on the other hand, there are 70.83% of nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas 29.16% of them appear before it. The difference between the two texts, therefore, amounts to more or less 15%.

If we compare the behaviour of both main and dependent clause pronominal and nominal objects, we will obtain the following data for the two texts in question:

Table 21. Ælfric's Preface and Ælfric's Homily 1: synchronic comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Word order	Main	Dependent	Word	Main	Dependent
PrefÆCH	VO	92.30	56.00	OV	7.69	44.00
ÆFCH	VO	84.67	70.83	OV	15.32	29.16
PrefÆCH	Vo	66.66	0.00	oV	33.33	100.00
ÆFCH	Vo	49.01	18.51	oV	50.98	81.48

As can be seen, the two texts differ from each other to a significant extent but the difference does not exceed 20%. It is interesting to note that, on the one hand, there are more VO structures in the main clauses of the Preface but, on the other, there are more VO structures in the dependent clauses of the first Homily. It concerns both pronominal and nominal objects. Therefore, there comes up the question: which text is 'more English', the Preface or the first Homily? Looking at the dependent clauses, it would perhaps

be more reasonable to consider the Preface as 'more English' than the first Homily because of the strong tendency to place the objects, both pronominal (100%) and nominal (44%), before the verb. However, if we look at the main clauses, it will be seen that the Preface, as for that time, has simply too many objects that appear after the verb, so it would be more reasonable to consider the main clauses of the first Homily as 'more English'. The conclusion is, therefore, that the texts of Ælfric were influenced by Latin up to a considerable extent. Perhaps the above conclusion will become clearer when we have a look at the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon below.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, we obtained the following data for the Preface: the V2 structures constitute 60.93% of the total of the main clause structures, and the subject appears in the first position in 66.66% of the total of the main clause V2 structures. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the V2 structures constitute 39.02% of the total of dependent clause structures, whereas the subject appears in the first position in 71.87% of the total of V2 dependent clause structures. In the main clauses of the first Homily, on the other hand, the V2 structures occupy 52.10% of the total of main clause structures, whereas the subject appears in the first position in 50.86% of the total of main clause V2 structures. As for dependent clauses, there are 56.14% of V2 structures and the subject appears in the first position in 79.04% of the total of V2 dependent clause structures.

And finally, we present the data obtained for both the V2, SV2-within-V2 structures and the VO/OV word order configurations in order to see better if there is any interdependence between them:

Table 22. Ælfric's Preface and Ælfric's Homily 1: synchronic comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses				Dependent clauses			
	V2	SV2	VO	Vo	V2	SV2	VO	Vo
PrefÆCH	60.93	66.66	92.30	66.66	39.02	71.87	56.00	0.00
ÆFCH	52.10	50.86	84.67	49.01	56.14	79.04	70.83	18.51

What we can conclude about the language of Ælfric is that it was considerably influenced by Latin, and it would be risky to say that it reflects the true state of the English language at that time.

In the following section, we will turn to the word order analysis of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

3.4. Word order in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: comparison of the entries pre-1066 of the A-manuscript and the E-manuscript

In this section we are going to present an analysis of two manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The two manuscripts are the *Parker Chronicle*, also known as Manuscript A (A-Ms), and the *Peterborough Chronicle*, also known as Manuscript E (E-Ms). The former is the oldest surviving manuscript and it dates from the end of the ninth century, whereas the latter is the latest of the surviving manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and it is the longest of all of them with its annals continuing up to AD 1154. Moreover, the *Parker Chronicle* represents the West Saxon dialect and the *Peterborough Chronicle* is 'a copy made at Peterborough in 1122 of a chronicle kept at Canterbury which was in turn a northern chronicle whose ultimate derivation is the original West Saxon (southern) chronicle' (Bean 1983: 16). In our analysis we will make a comparative study of the two manuscripts in order to see if there are any significant word order differences in them. In the first part of the analysis we will take into account the entries from the beginning up to the year 1066 inclusive (the pre-1066 material). There is, however, a significant disproportion as regards the amount of text that the two manuscripts contain but we hope to obtain reliable percentages that will show to what extent the two manuscripts differ.

We will start with the A-Ms. As regards the general situation of all kinds of objects, both nominal and pronominal, there are quite a substantial number of VO configurations in the A-Ms, and they constitute 59.08% of the total of the VO/OV main clause word order configurations, whereas the rest are OV. In the E-Ms, on the other hand, there are more VO main clause word orders, as they constitute 65.84% of the total, whereas the OV word orders constitute 34.15%. It does not make a very big difference but it implies that the E-manuscript is more VO than the A-manuscript. It should be borne in mind, however, that the two manuscripts are not equal as regards the amount of text. Moreover, in order to obtain some more objective data for the differences between the two manuscripts, it would be necessary to select all the sentences that exist in both of the manuscripts and see how they differ. Below we present only a few parallel examples, both from the A-Ms and the E-Ms that differ from each other and we highlighted the areas of difference:

(3.3) a) Her onfeng Gaius **rice**

ChronA 39/1

b) Her onfeng Gaius **to rice**

ChronE 39/1

(3.4) a) Her Claudius oþer Romana cyninga **Bretene lond gesohte** & þone mæstan dęl þæs ealondes on his gewald onfeng, & eac swelce Orcadus þa ealond **Romana cynedome underþeodde**

ChronA 46/1

b) Her Claudius Romana cining **gewat mid here on Brytene** & þet igland geeode & ealle Pyhtas & Walas **underþeodde Romana rice**

ChronE 47/1

(3.5) a) Her Titus **feng** to rice, se þe sęde þæt he þone dæg forlure þe he noht to gode on ne gedyde

ChronA 81/1

b) Her **feng** Titus to rice, se ðe sede þet he þone dæg forlure ðe he naht to gode on ne dyde

ChronE 81/1

(3.6) a) Her **Gotan abręcon Romeburg**, & næfre siþan Romane ne ricsodon on Bretone

ChronA 409/1

b) Her **wæs tobrocen Romana burh fram Gotum** ymb XI hund wintra & X wintra þæs þe heo getimbred wæs

ChronE 409/1

(3.7) a) Her Cerdic & Cynric **Westsexena rice onfengun** & þy ilcan geare hie fuhton wiþ Brettas þær mon nu nemneþ Cerdicesford

ChronA 519/1

b) Her Certic & Kynric **onfengon Westseaxna rice**, & þi ilcan geare hi gefuhton wið Bryttas ðer man nu nemnað Certices ford

ChronE 519/1

On the basis of the above examples it can be said that the E-Ms employs more analytical structures and has a stronger tendency towards VO than the A-Ms. We did not find, however, any examples of the reverse tendency but it is perhaps due to the fact that we did not take into account enough material for the comparison.

We will now have a look at what is the general situation in the dependent clauses as for the behaviour of all kinds of objects. According to our analysis, in the A-Ms there are 25.47% of VO word orders and the rest are OV. Therefore there is a very strong tendency in the A-Ms dependent clauses to place the objects before the verb. The situation is much different in the E-Ms, where 40.28% of the total of VO/OV word orders are VO, whereas 59.71% are OV. It must be admitted, however, that 59.71% is still a considerable amount and thus the drive towards OV in dependent clauses of the E-Ms is evident. Below we present all the data that we have so far obtained for both the A-Ms and the E-Ms:

Table 23. A-Ms pre-1066 and E-Ms pre-1066: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders

Text	Main	Number	Percent	Dependent	Number	Percent
A-Ms	VO	309	59.08	VO	27	25.47
E-Ms	VO	644	65.84	VO	114	40.28
A-Ms	OV	214	40.91	OV	79	74.52
E-Ms	OV	334	34.15	OV	169	59.71

On the basis of the Table 23 we can conclude that the change towards VO was evidently going faster in dependent clauses than in main ones, but in order to be more sure about that, we need to wait for some further evidence that will come shortly. Meanwhile we will make a distinction between pronominal and nominal objects in order to see how these objects behave with respect to the verb in the two manuscripts. Let us first have a look at what the situation is in the A-Ms main clause pronominal objects. We found out that out of the total of the pronominal objects that appear in the VO/OV word order configurations, there are 31.96% that appear after the verb and 68.03% that go before it. In the E-Ms, on the other hand, there are more pronominal objects that appear after the verb (39.08%), and consequently fewer of them that go before it (60.91%), than in the A-Ms. Nevertheless, within the E-Ms itself there are many more pronominal objects that appear before the verb than after it. As far as nominal objects of the A-Ms are concerned, there are more of them that appear after the verb and they constitute 66.82% of the total, whereas the nominal objects that appear before the verb constitute 33.17%. The situation with the behaviour of nominal objects in the E-Ms is somewhat different and, as was the case with pronominal objects, there are around 10% more objects that appear after the verb than in the A-Ms, and they constitute 75.83% of the total, whereas the ones that go before the verb constitute 24.16%. Generally speaking, if we compare the two manuscripts, there are more VO word order configurations in the E-Ms than in the A-Ms as far as both pronominal and nominal objects are concerned:

Table 24. A-Ms pre-1066 and E-Ms pre-1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal main clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Word order	Nominal objects	Percent	Word order	Pronominal objects	Percent
A-Ms	VO	284	66.82	Vo	39	31.96
E-Ms	VO	587	75.83	Vo	102	39.08
A-Ms	OV	141	33.17	oV	83	68.03
E-Ms	OV	187	24.16	oV	159	60.91

On the basis of the Table 24 it can also be seen that in both manuscripts there are relatively more pronominal objects that appear before the verb than there are nominal ones. Moreover, bearing in mind that there are more VO word order configurations in the E-Ms than in the A-Ms, the change towards VO was going faster with respect to nominal objects than with respect to pronominal ones.

Now we will analyse the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects in the dependent clauses of the two manuscripts. Such analysis will allow us to see if there are any similarities in their behaviour as compared with the main clauses. As regards the behaviour of dependent clause pronominal objects of the A-Ms, there are 8.82% of those that appear after the verb, and 91.17% that appear before the verb. In the E-Ms there are 19.67% of dependent clause pronominal objects that go after the verb, whereas 80.32% of them appear before the verb. The situation with dependent clause pronominal objects in the two manuscripts is very similar to the one in main clauses in the sense that there are around 10% of VO pronominal word order configurations more in the E-Ms than in the A-Ms. As far as the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects in the A-Ms is concerned, there are many more nominal objects appearing after the verb than there are pronominal ones, but all the same the number of OV dependent clause word order configurations here is relatively high as compared with that of VO ones, as there are 33.78% of the total of the investigated dependent clause nominal objects that go after the verb and 66.21% appear before the verb. In the E-Ms dependent clauses, on the other hand, there are 56.06% of objects that appear after the verb, whereas 43.93% go before the verb. Such situation means that, in contrast to the A-Ms, the VO word orders constitute the majority of all of the dependent clause word orders where the objects are nominal.

In the Table 25 we compare all the data obtained for both main and dependent clauses of both manuscripts:

Table 25. A-Ms pre-1066 and E-Ms pre-1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Main clauses						Dependent clauses					
	word order	nominal objects	percent	word order	pronominal objects	percent	word order	nominal objects	percent	word order	pronominal objects	percent
A-Ms	VO	284	66.82	Vo	39	31.96	VO	25	33.78	Vo	3	8.82
E-Ms	VO	587	75.83	Vo	102	39.08	VO	97	56.06	Vo	24	19.67
A-Ms	OV	141	33.17	oV	83	68.03	OV	49	66.21	oV	31	91.17
E-Ms	OV	187	24.16	oV	159	60.91	OV	76	43.93	oV	98	80.32

It can be seen that generally there are more VO word orders in the E-Ms in both main and dependent clauses, where in both clause types the number of VO word orders rises by approximately 10% as compared with the A-Ms. However, this observation does not refer to all the word orders. As can be seen, the number of the E-Ms dependent clause nominal objects that appear after the verb rises by over 20%, which is of much interest to us. The conclusion is that in the E-Ms (the 'northern' chronicle) the change towards VO was going relatively faster in dependent clauses than in main ones as far as the placement of nominal objects is concerned. As for the behaviour of pronominal objects, they are generally more reluctant to go after the verb in the change towards VO than nominal objects. This observation is not a new one, as we have already seen that a similar situation existed with respect to the other texts that we have already analysed.

Below we present the analysis of the two manuscripts with respect to the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena. We will first have a look at what is the situation in the A-Ms with respect to that. There are 55.54% of V2 structures in the total of the main clauses of the A-Ms, and the SV2 structures constitute 33.13% of the total of the V2 structures. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, there are fewer V2 structures than in main clauses, and they constitute 42.37% of the total. However, there are more SV2 structures (56.57%) within the total of the V2 dependent clause structures than in main clauses. As far as the E-Ms is concerned, there are 52.74% of V2 structures in the main clauses, and the SV2 structures constitute 38.66% of the total of the V2 structures. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the V2 structures constitute 44.21% of the total of them. As for the SV2 dependent clause structures, there are 67.16% of them in the total of the V2 structures. If we gather the data in a table and compare the two manuscripts with each other, we will observe that there are more or less the same number of V2 structures in both main (around 55%) and dependent clauses (around 44%):

Table 26. A-Ms pre-1066 and E-Ms pre-1066: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Clause type	Text	V2	XV2	SV2
Main	A-Ms	55.54	66.86	33.13
	E-Ms	52.74	61.33	38.66
Dependent	A-Ms	42.37	43.42	56.57
	E-Ms	44.21	32.83	67.16

Moreover, the number of the SV2-within-V2 main clause structures is a bit higher in the E-Ms (38.66%) than in the A-Ms (33.13%). As to dependent clauses, there are also more SV2-within-V2 structures in the E-Ms (67.16%)

than in the A-Ms (56.57%). On the whole, there are generally more SV2-within-V2 structures in dependent clauses than in main clauses of both of the manuscripts. However, it can be seen that the increase of the SV2-within-V2 structures in the E-Ms, as compared with the A-Ms, is slightly more dynamic in dependent clauses than in main clauses, as the number of SV2-within-V2 main clause structures rises by 5% in the E-Ms, whereas the number of SV2-within-V2 dependent clause structures rises by 11%. This would be in agreement with our previous observation as to the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects, namely we observed that in the E-Ms (the 'northern' chronicle) the change towards VO was going relatively faster in dependent clauses than in main clauses as far as the placement of nominal objects is concerned. The conclusion therefore is that the increase of the SV2-within-V2 structures is indicative of the ongoing OV-to-VO word order change, and vice versa.

3.5. The *Parker Chronicle*: the pre-891 and the 891—1066 periods compared

In this section we are going to further analyse the Parker Manuscript dividing it into two further periods, namely the pre-891 and the 891—1066 periods, the reason being that 'although the original compilation can be dated around 890 on the basis of comparative evidence from the texts and the fact that the Parker Manuscript is written in a single hand up through the entry for the year 891, there is some disagreement about the place of origin and the unity of the pre-891 material. […] There is also evidence to suggest that the compiler incorporated some of the material at his disposal directly into the original manuscript and that, therefore, certain parts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* date back to earlier periods of the language' (Bean 1983: 15). We are, therefore going to see if there are any significant word order differences between the two periods of the A-Ms, and later on we will see if it makes sense to make a similar division in the E-Ms.

We will start with the analysis of the A-Ms. While analysing VO and OV word orders, both nominal and pronominal, in the main clauses of the pre-891 material of the A-Ms, we discovered that there are 52.39% of VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word orders occupy 47.60%. If we take the 891—1066 entries of the same manuscript we will see that there are many more VO main clause word orders, as their number amounts to 70.89% of the total of OV/VO main clause word orders, whereas the OV word order configurations occupy 29.10%. In other words, there are near-

ly 20% more VO main clause configurations in the pre-891 material of the A-Ms than in the 891—1066 material. Furthermore, in dependent clauses the difference in word order between the two materials of the A-Ms is not so high. In the pre-891 material there are 22.22% of VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word order configurations occupy as much as 77.77% of the total of the investigated OV/VO dependent clause word orders. In the dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material of the A-Ms, on the other hand, there are 28.84% of VO word order configurations, which consequently means that the OV word orders occupy 71.15% of the total of both VO and OV dependent clause word orders. In other words, there are more or less 6% of OV word orders more in the pre-891 material of the A-Ms than in the 891—1066 material. If we compare both materials of the A-Ms, we will obtain the following picture for the general behaviour of all kinds of objects in both main and dependent clauses:

Table 27. A-Ms pre-891 and A-Ms 891—1066: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders

Text	Main	Number	Percent	Dependent	Number	Percent
A pre-891	VO	175	52.39	VO	12	22.22
A 891—1066	VO	134	70.89	VO	15	28.84
A pre-891	OV	159	47.60	OV	42	77.77
A 891—1066	OV	55	29.10	OV	37	71.15

On the basis of our data we can conclude that generally there are more VO word order configurations in both main and dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material of the A-Ms. Moreover, the change towards VO was going faster in the main clauses (an 18% increase) than in the dependent clauses (a 6% increase).

As far as the behaviour of pronominal objects in the main clauses of the pre-891 material of the A-Ms is concerned, we found out that there are 23.88% of them appearing after the verb, whereas 76.11% of them appear after it. In the 891—1066 material of the same manuscript, on the other hand, there are many more VO main clause word orders with the objects being pronominal, and they amount to 41.81%, whereas the OV word order configurations constitute 58.18%. In other words, there are nearly 20% more pronominal objects appearing after the verb in the main clauses of the pre-891 material than in the main clauses of the 891—1066 material. As to the behaviour of the main clause nominal objects of the pre-891 material of the A-Ms, there are 59.57% of them that appear after the verb, whereas 40.42% of them occur after it. In the main clauses of the 891—1066 material, on the other hand, there are 81.11% of VO word order configurations, whereas the

OV configurations constitute 18.88% of the total of main clause nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. If we compare the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal main clause objects of both of the materials, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 28. A-Ms pre-891 and A-Ms 891—1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal main clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Word order	Nominal object	Percent	Word order	Pronominal object	Percent
A pre-891	VO	168	59.57	Vo	16	23.88
A 891—1066	VO	116	81.11	Vo	23	41.81
A pre-891	OV	114	40.42	oV	51	76.11
A 891—1066	OV	27	18.88	oV	32	58.18

On the basis of the data contained in the Table 28 we can conclude that, diachronically looked at, nominal objects were faster to go after the verb than pronominal objects, as in the 891—1066 material the number of VO word order configurations, where the object is nominal, increases by more or less 22% as compared with the pre-891 material, whereas the number of pronominal objects that go after the verb increases by more or less 18%.

As far as dependent clauses are concerned, we found out that in the pre-891 material of the A-Ms there are only 5.55% of pronominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the pronominal objects that appear before the verb amount to 94.44%. As for the 891—1066 material of the A-Ms, there are more dependent clause pronominal objects that appear after the verb than in the pre-891 material: according to our calculations, there are 12.50% of VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word orders constitute 87.50%. Therefore, the number of VO dependent clause word orders, where the objects are pronominal, rises by more or less 7% in the 891—1066 material as compared with that of the pre-891 one.

As for the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects of the pre-891 material, we found out that there are 28.94% of them appearing after the verb, whereas the ones that appear before it constitute 71.05% of the total. In the 891—1066 material, on the other hand, there are 38.88% of dependent clause nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the ones that go before it constitute 61.11%. The observation here is that the number of VO word order configurations of the dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material, where the objects are nominal, rises by more or less 10%, whereas the number of pronominal objects appearing after the verb in dependent clauses rised by more or less 7%. Therefore, we can further conclude that, as was the case with main clauses, nominal objects are faster to go to the position

after the verb than pronominal objects. Below we compare all the data that we obtained for the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal dependent clause objects of the two materials in question:

Table 29. A-Ms pre-891 and A-Ms 891—1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Word order	Nominal object	Percent	Word order	Pronominal object	Percent
A pre-891	VO	11	28.94	Vo	1	5.55
A 891—1066	VO	14	38.88	Vo	2	12.50
A pre-891	OV	27	71.05	oV	17	94.44
A 891—1066	OV	22	61.11	oV	14	87.50

On the basis of the data that we obtained for the two materials of the A-Ms, we can conclude that the change towards VO was faster in main clauses than in dependent clauses. Moreover, nominal objects were faster to go to the position after the verb than pronominal objects in both main and dependent clauses.

And now we are going to have a look at the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in both of the A-Ms materials in question. We found out that in the main clauses of the pre-891 material there are 53.86% of V2 structures and the subject is the first element before the verb in 37.87% of them. In dependent clauses the situation is much different, as there are fewer V2 structures and more SV2-within-V2 structures than in main clauses: the V2 structures constitute 38.54%, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 64.86%. In the main clauses of the 891—1066 material of the A-Ms, on the other hand, we found 58.92% of V2 structures, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 24.29%. As for dependent clauses, we found out that there are fewer V2 structures in them than in main clauses, as they constitute 45.70%, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 50.49% of the total of the dependent clause V2 structures. Furthermore, on the basis of the data obtained for both V2, SV2-within-V2 phenomena and VO we can conclude that in both main and dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material, as compared with that of the pre-891 material, there is an increase in V2 structures but a decrease in the so-called SV2-within-V2 structures. Moreover, although there is a general decrease in the SV2-within-V2 structures, the number of VO word order configurations in both main and dependent clauses steadily increases, which is, to our mind, a bit incongruent, as together with the increase of the VO word order configurations we expected an increase in the SV2-within-V2 structures in both main and dependent clauses. We will arrive at some more conclusions later on. In the meantime, we will have a look at what is the situation with the E-Ms.

3.6. The *Peterborough Chronicle*: the pre-891 and the 891—1066 periods compared

The *Peterborough Chronicle* is one of the *Chronicle* manuscripts and it is the latest one. It was started in the first quarter of the twelfth century as a copy of another chronicle. Although the entries up to 1066, which we are going to analyse here, were written as late as the first half of the twelfth century, we are going to divide them into two periods, as was our practice with the A-Ms, and by doing this we would like to discover if there are also any noticeable word order differences between the pre-891 and the 891—1066 materials. Afterwards we are going to compare our results with the ones obtained for the A-Ms.

As far as the general situation with the word order VO/OV configurations in the pre-891 material of the E-Ms is concerned, we found out that in the main clauses there are 59.62% of the VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word orders constitute 40.37%. There are, therefore, more VO word orders in the E-Ms than in the A-Ms, and the difference amounts to more or less 7%. As for the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms, there are 71.94% of VO word order configurations in the main clauses, whereas the OV word orders constitute 28.05%. If we compare the main clauses of the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms with that of the A-Ms, we will notice that the two materials almost do not differ with respect to word order, as the increase in VO word orders amounts to as little as 1% in the E-Ms, whereas it amounted to about 7% in the pre-891 material. As for the dependent clauses of the pre-891 material of the E-Ms, we found 41.02% of objects that appear after the verb, whereas 58.97% go after it. The pre-891 material of the two manuscripts, therefore, differs more in dependent clauses than in main clauses, as there are more or less 19% more VO word order configurations in the pre-891 material of the E-Ms than of the A-Ms, whereas in main clauses the difference amounted to only 7%. To continue, as far as the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms is concerned, we found out that there are 39.75% of VO word orders, whereas the OV word order configurations occupy 60.24% of the total of the OV/VO dependent clause word orders. Therefore, one of interesting observations here is that there are slightly fewer VO dependent clause word orders in the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms than in the pre-891 material of the same manuscript, and the difference amounts to roughly 1.50%, which is not a lot in fact. So we can notice here, unlike in the main clauses, a moment of stagnation in the development towards VO in the dependent clauses of the E-Ms, as in the main clauses there was a more or less 12% increase in the VO word order configurations, whereas here there is a slight decrease. The conclusion, therefore, is that

the change towards VO was going faster in main clauses than in dependent clauses. In the Table 30 we present all the data concerning the pre-891 and the 891—1066 materials of the E-Ms that we have so far discussed in this section:

Table 30. E-Ms pre-891 and E-Ms 891—1066: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders

Text	Main	Number	Percent	Dependent	Number	Percent
E pre-891	VO	285	59.62	VO	48	41.02
E 891—1066	VO	359	71.94	VO	66	39.75
E pre-891	OV	193	40.37	OV	69	58.97
E 891—1066	OV	140	28.05	OV	100	60.24

We will now make a division into nominal and pronominal objects. In the pre-891 material of the E-Ms, out of the total of the main clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb there are 29.56% of them that appear after the verb, whereas 70.43% occur before it. As for the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms, we discovered that there is 46.89% of main clause pronominal objects that occur after the verb, whereas 53.10% of them appear before it. Therefore, there are more pronominal objects appearing after the verb here than in the pre-891 material, and the difference amounts to over 16%. If we turn to the behaviour of main clause nominal objects of the pre-891, we will see that there are 69.32% of those that appear after the verb, while 30.67% of them occur before it. In the 891—1066 material, on the other hand, we found 82.38% of main clause nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the ones that occur before it constitute 17.61% of the total of the main clause nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. And below we present a table with the data concerning the behaviour of main clause nominal and pronominal objects that we obtained for the two materials of the E-Ms:

Table 31. E-Ms pre-891 and E-Ms 891—1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal main clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Word order	Nominal object	Percent	Word order	Pronominal object	Percent
E pre-891	VO	269	69.32	Vo	34	29.56
E 891—1066	VO	318	82.38	Vo	68	46.89
E pre-891	OV	119	30.67	oV	81	70.43
E 891—1066	OV	68	17.61	oV	77	53.10

Generally speaking, if we compare the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects in the two materials of the E-Ms in question, we will observe that, unlike in the A-Ms, the main clause pronominal objects were faster to go to the position after the verb than nominal objects.

As regards the behaviour of dependent clause pronomial objects in the pre-891 material of the E-Ms, we found out that there are 13.63% of those that appear after the verb, whereas 86.36% of them appear before it. As far as the behaviour of the dependent clause pronominal objects in the 891—1066 material is concerned, we discovered that in comparison with the pre-891 material of the same manuscript there is a more or less 10% increase in those appearing after the verb: there are 23.07% of pronominal objects that occur in the position after the verb, whereas 76.92% of them appear before it. As far as dependent clause nominal objects are concerned, we discovered that in the pre-891 material of the E-Ms there are 57.33% of those occurring after the verb, whereas 42.66% of them appear before it. The situation is almost analogical in the 891—1066 material of the same manuscript, as we found out that the dependent clause nominal objects that appear after the verb constitute 53.46%, while the ones that occur before the verb constitute 46.53%. It means that there are more dependent clause OV word order configurations, where the objects are nominal, in the 981—1066 material of the E-Ms than in the pre-891 one, and the difference amounts to more or less 4%. On the other hand, there are fewer dependent clause OV word order configurations, where the objects are pronominal, in the 891—1066 material of the same manuscript than in the pre-891 one, and the difference amounts to more or less 10%. In order to further illustrate the whole situation we have gathered all the data concerning the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal dependent clause objects of the two materials of the E-Ms in question:

Table 32. E-Ms pre-891 and E-Ms 891—1066: comparison of nominal and pronominal dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations

Text	Word order	Nominal object	Percent	Word order	Pronominal object	Percent
E pre-891	VO	43	57.33	Vo	6	13.63
E 891—1066	VO	54	53.46	Vo	18	23.07
E pre-891	OV	32	42.66	oV	38	86.36
E 891—1066	OV	47	46.53	oV	60	76.92

Therefore the conclusion here is that in the dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms the nominal objects experience a moment of stagnation, or even a backward movement, in the change towards VO, whereas

the pronominal objects continue going to the position after the verb. In the Table 33 we present all the data that we gathered for the behaviour of both main and dependent clause nominal and pronominal objects in the two materials of both the A-Ms and the E-Ms, in order to further illustrate the whole situation:

Table 33. A-Ms pre-891, A-Ms 891—1066 and E-Ms pre-891, E-Ms 891—1066: comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV	all OV	pronominal oV	nominal OV
A pre-891	52.39	23.88	59.57	22.22	5.55	28.94	47.60	76.11	40.42	77.77	94.44	71.05
E pre-891	59.62	29.56	69.32	41.02	13.63	57.33	40.37	70.43	30.67	58.97	86.36	42.66
A 891—1066	70.89	41.81	81.11	28.84	12.50	38.88	29.10	58.18	18.88	71.15	87.50	61.11
E 891—1066	71.94	46.89	82.38	39.75	23.07	53.46	28.05	53.10	17.61	60.24	76.92	46.53

Generally speaking, we observed that the changes towards VO in main clauses were going faster in the A-Ms than in the E-Ms. This observation concerns both nominal and pronominal objects. The same can be said about dependent clauses, save the behaviour of pronominal objects. Moreover, the changes towards VO were faster in main clauses than in dependent clauses in both manuscripts. The conclusion is, therefore, that the E-Ms, although it was written as late as the early twelfth century, reflects to a certain extent the changes in the Old English word order that were taking place in the first millenium AD.

Let us now have a look at the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in the pre-891 material of the E-Ms. According to our calculations, in the main clauses there are 55.37% of V2 structures, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures occupy 41.65% of the total of the V2 structures. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, we found out that there are a little fewer V2 structures than in main clauses but that there are more SV2-within-V2 structures. So the V2 structures constitute here 46.17%, whereas the SV2-within-V2 ones constitute 56.90% of the total of the dependent clause V2 structures. Furthermore, as far as the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms is concerned, we discovered that in the main clauses the V2 structures constitute 49.65% of the total of the main clause 2 structures, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 35.10% of the total of the main clause V2 structures. In the dependent clauses, on the other hand, there are fewer V2 structures than in the main clauses but there are many more SV2-within-V2 structures: the

V2 structures constitute 42.74% of the total of the dependent clause structures, while the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 75.44% of the total of the V2 structures. If we compare all the data concerning the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena that we obtained for both main and dependent clauses of the two materials of both the A-Ms and the E-Ms, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 34. A-Ms pre-891, A-Ms 891—1066 and E-Ms pre-891, E-Ms 891—1066: synchronic comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
A pre-891	53.86	62.12	37.87	38.54	35.13	64.86
E pre-891	55.37	58.34	41.65	46.17	43.09	56.90
A 891—1066	58.92	75.70	24.29	45.70	49.50	50.49
E 891—1066	49.65	64.89	35.10	42.74	24.55	75.44

And in the Table 35 we combine all the data for the V2, the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, as well as for the behaviour of all kinds of objects in both main and dependent clauses that we obtained in the analysis of the two materials, both the pre-891 and the 891—1066, of the two manuscripts in question:

Table 35. A-Ms pre-891, A-Ms 891—1066 and E-Ms pre-891, E-Ms 891—1066: comparison of V2, SV2 and VO in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Word order configurations									
	main clauses					dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	V2	SV2	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO
A pre-891	53.86	37.87	52.39	23.88	59.57	38.54	64.86	22.22	5.55	28.94
E pre-891	55.37	41.65	59.62	29.56	69.32	46.17	56.90	41.02	13.63	57.33
A 891—1066	58.92	24.29	70.89	41.81	81.11	45.70	50.49	28.84	12.50	38.88
E 891—1066	49.65	35.10	71.94	46.89	82.38	42.74	75.44	39.75	23.07	53.46

To our surprise, we discovered that the development of the VO word order configurations does not go hand in hand with the development of the SV2-within-V2 structures. There is a general decrease of the SV2-within-V2 structures in both main and dependent clauses of the two manuscripts, save the dependent clauses of the 891—1066 material of the E-Ms. However, we need to look with some distance at the data that we have so far obtained in this section because the early entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* had a

complicated history and the material is probably a mixture of entries coming from different periods, which in turn will prevent one to arrive at the true picture of word order changes.

We will concentrate upon the later entries of the *Peterborough Chronicle* in Chapter 4 where we will mainly talk about the Early Middle English period. In the meantime, we will see to what extent the English language was influenced by the Old Norse language after the Viking Invasion.

3.7. Old Norse: how much of Scandinavian influence upon the word order of English?

3.7.1. The socio-linguistic background

In this section we will try to establish how much Scandinavian influence there was upon the English word order during the age of the Viking raids but before we start our own analysis of an Old Norse text we will make a brief outline of the linguistic situation in England at that time.

As Fisiak (1977) points out, the use of the term Scandinavian is a bit misleading. England was invaded by two Northern-Germanic nations: starting from the year 787 by Danes and starting from the year 900 by Norwegians. Both nations spoke separate but not much different languages. The minimal differences existing between the two languages permit linguists to speak of a Scandinavian language, or rather Anglo-Norse while taking into account its relations with Middle English. The Scandinavian invaders settled in areas which were not totally isolated but inhabited by the English. As a natural consequence of this there were frequent intermarriages. Close everyday contacts and intermarriages between the English and the Scandinavian settlers, Fisiak (2000) notes, ultimately led to the amalgamation of the two peoples. Cultural similarities between them and a relatively small difference between the two genetically related languages facilitated the process of this amalgamation considerably. When the English kings were gradually reestablishing their power over the territories, where the mixed Scandinavian and English population lived, they did not attempt to discriminate against the non-English people. As can be expected, the Scandinavians preserved some of their institutions and customs, but they assimilated themselves to the English population very easily and quickly. Many Scandinavians accepted Christianity, which fact served as a further unifying force. Furthermore, among the two

peoples, Fisiak (2000) points out, there was a strong need for communication in order to handle business and administration, as well as to solve any problems typical of any community. It is not clear and remains in the sphere of conjecture to what extent it was possible to communicate using the two languages (Scandinavian and English) and what was the degree of bilingualism that emerged. No matter what the degree of mutual understanding there was, it needs to be noted that the Scandinavian language did not survive in England much beyond 1100. Yet, as is evidenced by a large number of Scandinavian elements in English, it cannot be doubted that the contact of the two languages had a tremendous influence on the latter. English was modified by such elements as loanwords, place names and personal names, as well as both morphological and syntactic modifications. The two languages being mutually intelligible to quite an extent, the two groups of speakers started introducing modifications which contributed to the convergence of them. What emerged was some sort of an interlanguage which naturally improved the communication between members of the same community. The formation of this interlanguage, or Anglo-Norse, as Fisiak (1977) observes, no doubt resembled the process of pidginisation but it is not certain whether it underwent any further development towards creolisation.

Among the most significant changes in the English syntax during the Scandinavian settlement the following can be enumerated (Nist 1976: 102):

— accelerating the reduction of grammatical forms and the levelling of inflections in North England, where the Danes sacrificed stylistic niceties for simple clarity and direct communication — a process which was soon reinforced by the Norman Conquest;
— contributing several Danish 'empty' form words to help in the gradual evolution of English syntax from a synthetic to an analytic nature, words like *hence*, *thence*, *whence*, *though* and *till*;
— achieving order in the confused pronoun system of Old English with the introduction of Danish *they*, *them*, *their* and *the same*.

To the above can be added some other ones (Fisiak 1977):

— the rise of the definite article; Old Norse had both sets of demonstrative pronouns (like Old English) and a definite article as well;
— the rise of the periphrastic future forms in late Old English and early Middle English; Old Norse had a periphrastic tense with the auxiliaries *munu* and *skulu*. The auxiliary *shall* appears in late Old English and Early Middle English (*will* develops a bit later).

Furthermore, Görlach (1986) points out to the expansion of the class of strong masculines in noun inflection; this class existed and was well marked in Old Danish.

The changes in English started to spread from economically and politically less important peripheral parts of England in the direction of London

which was then an area politically and culturally more prestigious. Also, with respect to other areas London was richer, and especially during the twelfth century and before and after the Black Death (1348—c. 1400) there was a migration of a relatively large number of the Anglo-Norse population. The Midlands, like London, being one of the wealthiest areas, also attracted many people. The two areas being the natural direction of migration were at the same time the natural direction of the spread of language innovations (Fisiak 1977).

3.7.2. The analysis of word order in *Heimskringla*

As far as the Scandinavian influence upon the development of more and more VO word order configurations is concerned, we are going to make our own investigations. We will concentrate upon the analysis of a fragment of *Heimskringla* written by Snorri Sturluson (1178—1241) in the thirteenth century. Snorri Sturluson was one of the most important Icelandic historians of the Middle Ages. The fragment that we chose for our analysis is 'The vows of the Jomsberg Vikings', which text can be found in Gordon (1986). It is a text of around six pages but we expect it will suffice to achieve the goal, namely to see if Old Norse differed much from Old English with respect to word order, and thus in what way it could have influenced the English language. We saw in Section 2.3 earlier on, where we analysed the runic inscriptions from the Viking Age, that it did differ from Old English in the sense that it was more VO. However, runic inscriptions contain set sentences repeated according to a certain pattern, whereas prose texts, like the one that we will analyse now, offer a more objective state of the spoken language. After we have done the analysis, we will compare the data with the data obtained for the analysis of the inscriptions from the three runic periods, and then we will arrive at some conclusions as to the influence of Old Norse upon the English word order.

According to our calculations, there are 94.38% of VO word order configurations, whereas OV word orders constitute 5.61% of the total of both nominal and pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb in the main clauses. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the VO word order configurations constitute 83.33% of the total of both nominal and pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, whereas the OV word orders constitute 16.66%. Generally speaking, there are fewer VO word order configurations in dependent clauses than in main clauses and the difference amounts to 10%.

If we concentrate only on the position of pronominal objects and disregard the behaviour of nominal objects, we will see that in main clauses there are 92.85% of word order configurations where the objects are placed after the verb, whereas the OV word orders constitute 7.14%. As to the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, according to our calculations there are 94.80% of those that are placed after the verb, whereas those that appear before the verb constitute 5.19%. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, the picture is somewhat blurred due to the fact that we only one pronominal object and it appeared after the verb. We are not satisfied to say that there are 100% of pronominal objects appearing after the verb and 0% appearing before it, for if in main clauses pronominal objects can appear before the verb constituting about 7%, so analogically they could as well do so in dependent clauses. We can arrive at such a conclusion on the basis of the data obtained for the behaviour of nominal objects in both main and dependent clauses, as the number of nominal objects appearing after the verb is about 10% smaller than in main clauses. We expect that the situation with pronominal objects is analogical and there could also be more or less 10%, or so, more pronominal objects appearing before the verb in dependent clauses than in main clauses. To continue, as far as the behaviour of nominal objects in dependent clauses is concerned, according to our calculations there are 81.81% of those appearing after the verb, whereas 18.18% go in front of it.

If we gather the data obtained for the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects in both main and dependent clauses, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 36. *Heimskringla*: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	94.80	81.81	Vo	92.85	100.00
OV	5.19	18.18	oV	7.14	0.00

As far as the V2 and SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, in main clauses there are 57.45% of V2 structures, and the subject is placed in the first position in 47.32% of them. As to dependent clauses, there are more V2 structures here than in main clauses, and at the same time there are more subjects occupying the first position in them than in the V2 structures of main clauses, namely the V2 structures constitute 75.94% of the total of dependent clauses, whereas the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute 76.66%.

If we compare the data concerning V2 and SV2-within-V2 with the data concerning the VO word order configurations, we will obtain the following picture for *Heimskringla*:

Table 37. *Heimskringla*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
Heimskringla	57.45	47.32	94.38	92.85	94.80	75.94	76.66	83.33	100.00	81.81

Generally speaking, the text of *Heimskringla* is very advanced as to the development of VO structures in both main and dependent clauses. It is much more advanced in this respect than the runic inscriptions of the Viking Age (RP II), especially as regards dependent clauses; in main clauses the difference concernes mainly the position of pronominal objects. Let us have a look at the table below for comparison:

Table 38. RP I, RP II, RP III and *Heimskringla*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
RP I	44.44	68.75	79.31	0.00	82.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
RP II	80.33	94.60	96.08	75.00	96.84	53.65	27.27	26.66	0.00	36.36
RP III	77.04	91.48	82.00	66.66	93.10	83.33	40.00	25.00	0.00	50.00
Heimskringla	57.45	47.32	94.38	92.85	94.80	75.94	76.66	83.33	100.00	81.81

As to the V2 and SV2-within-V2 structures, in *Heimskringla* there are generally fewer of them in main clauses, but more of them in dependent clauses, than in RP II. Furthermore, it needs to be noted that the situation with the dependent clauses is somewhat unclear in both texts, so it is perhaps safer to basically concentrate on the main clauses, as they give us a more reliable data due to the fact that, unlike in dependent clauses, we found a satisfactory number of objects there.

Finally, on the basis of the analysis of the Old Norse material we can conclude that Old Norse was generally capable of driving Old English towards VO, especially in the northern part of England where the Viking raids and settlement were more intensive. One thing is that Old Norse was more advanced with respect to the VO word orders than Old English at the time of the first Viking invasions and, as the comparison of the second runic period material and the extract from *Heimskringla* demonstrate, it was changing with a greater speed towards VO than Old English from the time of the

first invasions onwards. Secondly, Old Norse and Old English were mutually understandable and this fact greatly facilitated the mutual influence of one language upon the other. Of course, the tendency was naturally to the development of more and more VO structures because it was a specific situation resembling that of pidgin formation and pidgins generally tend to develop towards VO.

Chapter 4

Middle English word order

4.1. Towards the shaping of the Middle English word order

In this chapter we are going to observe the changes that took place in the English word order around the time of the Norman Conquest, that is, when more or less the Early Middle English period begins, and we will trace the changes until the Late Middle English period. For a start, we will have a look at the entries 1067—1121 of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. In fact, this part of the Chronicle, at least as far as we can tell on the basis of the kind of English it was written in, still belongs to the Old English period, and, as we have observed, the Early Middle English period begins with around the entry 1122 of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the entries 1067—1121 offer us a very interesting picture of the English word order, which fact we partly ascribe to the influence of Norman French but what this influence looked like will be seen in the subsequent sections of this book. Therefore, we think that we have a good reason to place this particular part of the *Peterborough Chronicle* at this point of our book. Moreover, the texts that we will take into account here will be organised more or less chronologically in order to be able to notice the diachrony of further word order changes that took place in the Middle English period.

4.2. Word order in the entries 1067—1121 of the *Peterborough Chronicle*

In this section we are going to concentrate upon the word order of the entries 1067—1121 of the E-Ms. As far as main clauses are concerned, there are more VO word order configurations than OV ones, as the VO configurations constitute 52.52% of the total of VO/OV main clause word orders, and the OV configurations constitute 47.47%. In dependent clauses the situation is much different and here the VO word orders constitute 35.26%, whereas the OV word orders constitute 64.73%. The conclusion is, therefore, that there is actually a word order tendency that is opposite to the expected one, that is, there should theoretically be less OV word orders in the later entries of the E-Ms than in the earlier ones. We do not have any direct answer to the question why it is so, and we can only guess at the possible reasons for that. One of our suggestions is that language samples may sometimes not reflect the true picture of the general state of language with respect to word order, as the way objects behave is often influenced by the person who actually wrote a given text, as well as by the content of the text, that is, what is actually described. Another possibility is language contact; though in contact situations the expected tendency should be towards VO.

As for the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects only, there are many more of those that occur before the verb than after it, as the objects that appear before the verb constitute 67.52% of the total of main clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, whereas the objects that appear after the verb constitute 32.47%. As to nominal main clause objects, there are 60.23% of those that appear after the verb and 39.76% that appear in front of it. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, there are 10.29% of pronominal objects that appear after the verb out of the total of dependent clause pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. Consequently, there are 89.70% of pronominal objects that appear in front of the verb. Nominal objects, on the other hand, that appear after the verb occupy 46.93% of the total of the nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb in dependent clauses, whereas the ones that occur before the verb constitute 53.06%. As can be seen, there is still a stronger tendency towards OV in dependent clauses than towards VO with respect to the placement of nominal objects, not to mention pronominal objects. In the Table 39 we have gathered all the data concerning the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects in both main and dependent clauses in order to further illustrate the whole situation of the objects of the E-Ms 1067—1121 entries:

Table 39. E-Ms 1067—1121: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	60.23	46.93	Vo	32.47	10.29
OV	39.76	53.06	oV	67.52	89.70

As to the V2 phenomenon, there are more V2 structures in main clauses (49.33%) than in dependent clauses (42.25%). However, out of the total of the V2 structures there are many more SV2-within-V2 structures in dependent clauses (54.82%) than in main clauses (34.64%). That there are more SV2 structures within the V2 structures of dependent clauses has already been noticed as regards some of the other texts that we have analysed so far and this situation may be indicative of the fact that the change towards VO was faster in dependent clauses than in main clauses but we need to wait until later on when we have analysed some texts coming from the subsequent periods of the history of the English language in order to see if this observation is a right one.

4.3. Word order in the First Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (entries 1122—1131)

In this section we are going to present the results of our investigations concerning word order of the First Continuation (FC) of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. The FC consists of the entries 1122—1131, which are said to have been made more or less contemporaneuosly with the events described.

As regards the general behaviour of all objects, both pronominal and nominal, in the main clauses of the FC there are 70.80% of VO main clause word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 29.19% of the total of the VO/OV main clause word orders. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the VO word order configurations constitute 73.68% of the total of VO/OV dependent clause word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 26.31%. If we compare both main and dependent clause word orders, we will see that in the FC the number of VO word orders in dependent clauses is more or less the same as in main clauses. One of the conclusions here is that there starts to be no distinction made between main clause and dependent clause word order in the first half of the twelfth century. Moreover, the change towards VO was much faster in dependent clauses than in main

clauses. In the earlier entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and especially the A-Ms, there was a clear distinction observed between main clause word order and dependent clause word order, as the number of OV structures was much higher in main clauses than in depenedent ones. Here however the distinction is lost altogether and dependent clauses start to behave more or less like main clauses with respect to the position of the object, which in turn testifies to the fact that the change towards VO in dependent clauses was much faster than in main clauses.

As far as the behaviour of pronominal main clause objects is concerned, it can be seen that there are 53.84% of them appearing after the verb and 46.15% appearing before the verb. The number of main clause pronominal objects appearing before the verb is still relatively high as compared with that of main clause nominal objects appearing before the verb, as there are 87.50% of main clause nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas as little as 12.50% appear in front of it. The conclusion is, as we observed earlier on that pronominal objects were generally much more reluctant to change towards VO and they preferred to be placed before the verb, but all the same they also underwent the OV-to-VO change.

Let us now have a look at the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects in the dependent clauses of the FC. We will first present what is the situation with pronominal objects. According to our calculations, there are 46.66% of dependent clause pronominal objects that occur after the verb, whereas 53.33% tend to appear in front of it. If we compare the numbers with the earlier entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we will see that the FC is generally characterised by having many more pronominal objects after the verb. Moreover, the change towards VO was going slower in main clauses than in dependent clauses as far as the position of pronominal objects is concerned. As to dependent clause nominal objects, we can see that they changed much faster towards VO than did pronominal objects: there are 84.78% of nominal objects that occur after the verb and 15.21% that appear before it. Generally speaking, there are fewer dependent clause word orders where pronominal objects appear after the verb (over 46%) than there are main clause word orders with pronominal objects appearing after it (over 53%). An analogical situation exists in dependent clause word orders with nominal objects as there are fewer nominal objects appearing after the verb in dependent clauses (nearly 85%) than in main clauses (87.50%).

If we compare both main and dependent clauses with respect to the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 40. E-Ms 1122—1131: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	87.50	84.78	Vo	53.84	46.66
OV	12.50	15.21	oV	46.15	53.33

As can be seen, the word orders in both main and dependent clauses are very similar with respect to the placement of both pronominal and nominal objects before and after the verb. However, although the change towards VO was going much faster in dependent clauses, there are more pronominal and nominal objects appearing before the verb in dependent clauses than in main clauses. Moreover, although pronominal objects are generally slower to go to the position after the verb than nominal objects, this tendency is stronger in dependent clauses than in main clauses, that is, dependent clauses keep the pronominal objects longer before the verb than do main clauses.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, the situation is more or less the same in main clauses, where the V2 structures constitute nearly 58.65%, and in dependent clauses, where the V2 structures constitute 60.77%. However, there are more SV2 structures within the V2 structures in dependent clauses than in main clauses, as in main clauses there are 44.76% of SV2 structures within the V2 structures, whereas in dependent clauses there are 69.09% of SV2 structures within the V2 structures. In the Table 41 we compare both main and dependent clauses:

Table 41. E-Ms 1122—1131: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Clause type	V2	XV2	SV2
Main	58.65	55.23	44.76
Dependent	60.77	30.90	69.09

If we compare the data concerning the V2 and SV2-within-V2 phenomena obtained for the FC with the data obtained in the earlier entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we will notice that there is a faster increase of the SV2 structures within V2 structures in dependent clauses than in main clauses. This is undoubtedly indicative of a faster change towards VO in dependent clauses than in main clauses. Moreover, we will see a further increase of SV2-within-V2 structures in the Second Continuation (SC) of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the increase being more intensive in dependent clauses again. In the meantime we will go over to the discussion concerning the behaviour of objects in the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* and

then we will arrive at some more general conclusions concerning the interdependence of the OV-to-VO change with the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon.

4.4. Word order in the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (entries 1132—1154)

In the Second Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (SC) the word order changes go yet further than in the FC, as of course could be expected. As compared with the FC, the number of the VO word order configurations in main clauses rises from 70.80% up to 80%. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the number of VO word orders goes down from 73.68% to 71.79% as compared with the FC, which in fact does not make a significant difference. It can as well be said that the changes in the dependent clauses of the SC experience a temporary state of stagnation. That there can be observed a temporary state of stagnation, or even a slight decrease, with respect to the word order changes in dependent clauses, when the FC and the SC are compared, is a little misleading from the general point of view, because the changes were continuing all along.

Let us now have a look at the behaviour of dependent clause pronominal objects. According to our data, there are 66.66% of pronominal objects that are placed after the verb, whereas 33.33% appear before it. In the FC there were nearly 47% of pronominal objects that occurred after the verb, whereas in the SC their number goes up to nearly 67%, which, in turn, amounts to as much as 20% difference between the two continuations with respect to the placement of pronominal objects after the verb. As regards the behaviour of nominal objects in dependent clauses, there are 77.41% of nominal objects appearing after the verb, whereas 22.58% occur before it. If we compare the data obtained for the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects in the FC and the SC, we will observe that there is a slight decrease in the use of nominal objects after the verb, as in the FC the dependent clause nominal objects constituted nearly 85% of the total of the dependent clause nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb, whereas in the SC they constitute around 77%. Therefore there is a more or less 8% decrease. As for main clauses, on the other hand, there is a similar situation here to the one found in dependent clauses, because there is also a slight decrease in the use of nominal objects after the verb and a general increase of the use of pronominal objects after the verb. As compared with dependent clauses, the number of pronominal objects placed after the verb rises by as much as 27% in main clauses, whereas in dependent clauses it rose by 20%. There

are 80.76% of dependent clause pronominal objects that are placed after the verb, whereas the ones that appear before the verb constitute 19.23%. There is a similar situation in the main clauses of the SC as for the placement of nominal objects after the verb, as there are 81.72% that appear after the verb, whereas the ones that appear before the verb constitute 18.27%. Generally speaking, if we compare the main clauses of the two continuations of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we will observe that the change towards VO was much more rapid with respect to pronominal objects than nominal ones. Moreover, whereas the main clauses of the SC equalise the number of both pronominal and nominal objects being placed after the verb (about 80%), in dependent clauses there are still fewer pronominal objects being placed after the verb (nearly 67%) than there are nominal objects (over 77%). Let us now have a look at the Table 42 that contains all the data that we obtained for both main and dependent clause objects of the SC:

Table 42. E-Ms 1132—1154: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	81.72	77.41	Vo	80.76	66.66
OV	18.27	22.58	oV	19.23	33.33

As far as the V2 phenomenon in the SC is concerned, we found out that in main clauses the V2 structures constitute nearly 43.67%, whereas in dependent clauses they constitute 62.90%. Out of the total of the main clause V2 structures 47.36% have the subject in the first position before the verb, and out of the total of the dependent clause V2 structures 76.92% have the subject in the first position. If we compare the SC with the FC, we will observe that there is a continuous increase in the SV2-within-V2 structures in the SC. The increase is, however, more intensive in dependent clauses than in main clauses, which means that in dependent clauses the change towards VO was going faster than in main clauses.

Now that we have finished the analysis of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, it is time to make a comparison of our results. In the Table 43 we present all the data for the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects in the investigation of the A-Ms and the E-Ms:

Table 43. A pre-1066, E pre-1066, A pre-891, A 891—1066, E pre-891, E 891—1066, A 1067—1121, E 1067—1121, the FC and the SC: comparison of the behaviour of all kinds of objects in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	VO word order configurations						OV word order configurations					
	main clauses			dependent clauses			main clauses			dependent clauses		
	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nomi-nal VO	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nomi-nal VO	all OV	prono-minal oV	nomi-nal OV	all OV	prono-minal oV	nomi-nal OV
A pre-1066	59.08	31.96	66.82	25.47	8.82	33.78	40.91	68.03	33.17	74.52	91.17	66.21
E pre-1066	65.84	39.08	75.83	40.28	19.67	56.06	34.15	60.91	24.16	59.71	80.32	43.93
A pre-891	52.39	23.88	59.57	22.22	5.55	28.94	47.60	76.11	40.42	77.77	94.44	71.05
A 891—1066	70.89	41.81	81.11	28.84	12.50	38.88	29.10	58.18	18.88	71.15	87.50	61.11
E pre-891	59.62	29.56	69.32	41.02	13.63	57.33	40.37	70.43	30.67	58.97	86.36	42.66
E 891—1066	71.94	46.89	82.38	39.75	23.07	53.46	28.05	53.10	17.61	60.24	76.92	46.53
E 1067—1121	52.52	32.47	60.23	35.26	10.29	46.93	47.47	67.52	39.76	64.73	89.70	53.06
E 1122—1131	70.80	53.84	87.50	73.68	46.66	84.78	29.19	46.15	12.50	26.31	53.33	15.21
E 1132—1154	80.00	80.76	81.72	71.79	66.66	77.41	20.00	19.23	18.27	28.20	33.33	22.58

As can be seen, the general word order tendency is towards the loss of the OV structures and the development of the VO ones. This tendency concerns both main and dependent clauses, the change being more intensive in dependent clauses than in main ones. The change towards VO was going more intensively in dependent clauses, because it started much later than in main clauses, the reason for that being that dependent clauses, unlike main clauses, were basically OV. The change towards VO in main clauses, on the other hand, was slower but steady. At a certain point in time, that is, around the first half of the twelfth century, there started to be too big a contrast between the VO main clauses and the OV dependent clauses and thus the slow but steady move towards VO in main clauses forced the dependent clauses to also give way to VO word order, and very soon dependent clauses started to be arranged according to the main clause word order pattern, which, in turn, meant a gradual loss of distinction between main clause and dependent clause word order patterns. Hence the rapid change towards VO in dependent clauses. One of further implications here is that it was the main clauses that were the locus of the OV-to-VO change and not the dependent clauses, although the rapid change towards VO in dependent clauses, was going much faster than in main clauses, can be misleading and thus cause one to arrive at the conclusion that it was the dependent clauses that should be held responsible for the change towards VO in the English language. We do not however imply that what was going on in dependent clauses is of no con-

sequence and that their change towards VO is of secondary importance. On the contrary, we claim that dependent clauses gave a stronger impetus to the general change towards VO in English, and what the impetus was, can be observed in the subsequent periods of the history of the English word order, which we will discuss very shortly. In the Table 44, meanwhile, we present the results of our investigations of the so-called SV2-within-V2 phenomenon in both of the ASC manuscripts:

Table 44. A pre-1066, E pre-1066, A 1067—1121, A pre-891, A 891—1066, E pre-891, E 891—1066, E 1067—1121, the FC and the SC: comparison of V2, XV2 and SV2 in main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Main clauses			Dependent clauses		
	V2	XV2	SV2	V2	XV2	SV2
A pre-1066	55.54	66.86	33.13	42.37	43.42	56.57
E pre-1066	52.74	61.33	38.66	44.21	32.83	67.16
A pre-891	53.86	62.12	37.87	38.54	35.13	64.86
A 891—1066	58.92	75.70	24.29	45.70	49.50	50.49
E pre-891	55.37	58.34	41.65	46.17	43.09	56.90
E 891—1066	49.65	64.89	35.10	42.74	24.55	75.44
E 1067—1121	49.33	65.35	34.64	42.25	45.17	54.82
E 1122—1131	58.65	55.23	44.76	60.77	30.90	69.09
E 1132—1154	43.67	52.63	47.36	62.90	23.07	76.92

It can be observed that in the earliest entries of both A-Ms and E-Ms there are more V2 structures in main clauses than in dependent clauses. However, in the 1067—1121 part of the E-Ms the number of V2 structures in both main and dependent clauses seems to be equalised, as the two types of clauses do not differ much in this respect. With the passage of time, in the later entries of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, namely in the FC and then in the SC, there is a reverse situation, whereby dependent clauses start to have more V2 structures than main clauses. Moreover, we can see that there is also a steady increase of the SV2-within-V2 structures in both main and dependent clauses. However, dependent clauses differ considerably from main clauses in this respect, as even though dependent clauses preferred the OV word order, there were usually more SV2-within-V2 structures in them than in main clauses. However, the development of the SV2-within-V2 structures was much more intensive in dependent clauses than in main clauses, which undoubtedly is indicative of the accalerated change towards VO in dependent clauses of which we spoke before.

In the Table 45 we combine the data obtained for the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon with the data concerning the development of the VO structures both in main and dependent clauses in order to better see the interdependence existing between the two phenomena:

Table 45. A pre-1066, E pre-1066, A pre-891, A 891—1066, E pre-891, E 891—1066, A 1067—1121, E 1067—1121, the FC and the SC: comparison of V2, SV2 and OV in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Word order configurations									
	main clauses					dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nominal VO	V2	SV2	all VO	prono-minal Vo	nominal VO
A pre-1066	55.54	33.13	59.08	31.96	66.82	42.37	56.57	25.47	8.82	33.78
E pre-1066	52.74	38.66	65.84	39.08	75.83	44.21	67.16	40.28	19.67	56.06
A pre-891	53.86	37.87	52.39	23.88	59.57	38.54	64.86	22.22	5.55	28.94
A 891—1066	58.92	24.29	70.89	41.81	81.11	45.70	50.49	28.84	12.50	38.88
E pre-891	55.37	41.65	59.62	29.56	69.32	46.17	56.90	41.02	13.63	57.33
E 891—1066	49.65	35.10	71.94	46.89	82.38	42.74	75.44	39.75	23.07	53.46
E 1067—1121	49.33	34.64	52.52	32.47	60.23	42.25	54.82	35.26	10.29	46.93
E 1122—1131	58.65	44.76	70.80	53.84	87.50	60.77	69.09	73.68	46.66	84.78
E 1132—1154	43.67	47.36	80.00	80.76	81.72	62.90	76.92	71.79	66.66	77.41

In the later sections of this book we will compare these data with the ones that we have already obtained for the texts analysed earlier and with the ones that will obtain in the subsequent sections. In the meantime, we will analyse the text of *Juliana*.

4.5. The analysis of *Juliana*

In this section we are going to analyse the text of *Juliana*, an Early Middle English text dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century that was produced in Southwest England. *Juliana* is one of the texts of the so-called 'Katherine Group.' There are two manuscripts of *Juliana*, one of them being the Bodley 34 Manuscript (B-Ms), and the other, which we are going to concentrate on here, is the Royal Manuscript (R-Ms). The Royal Manuscript seems to be an earlier text than the Bodley Manuscript.

On the basis of our analysis we found out that in the main clauses of the R-Ms there are 87.70% of VO word order configurations, which is quite a substantial number, whereas the OV word orders constitute 12.29%. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is somewhat different and there are 71.26% of VO word order configurations, whereas the OV word order configurations constitute 28.73%. On a closer look it can be seen that, except Ælfric's prose, none of the English texts, that we have analysed so far, displayed such a high amount of VO word order configurations as far as main clauses are concerned. As for dependent clauses, on the other hand, the advance of the change towards VO also seems to be continuing.

In order to obtain more detailed information concerning the behaviour of objects in *Juliana* it is necessary to make a distinction between pronominal and nominal objects, as has been our practice with all the texts analysed so far. Let us start with the behaviour of pronominal objects in main clauses. There are 86.54% of main clause word order configurations where the pronominal objects are placed after the verb, whereas there are 13.45% of them that go before the verb. As far as the behaviour of nominal objects is concerned, they behave quite similarly to pronominal objects and there are 90.72% of them being placed after the verb, whereas 9.27% go before it. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is much more different, as there are not so many VO word order configurations here as compared with the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects. The VO word orders constitute 55.96%, whereas the OV ones 44.03%. However, the situation with dependent clause nominal objects is much more different from that of pronominal objects: there are 80.95% of them appearing after the verb, whereas 19.04% of them appear before it. If we compare both main and dependent clauses, we will see that dependent clauses in *Juliana*, unlike main clauses, still continue to keep pronominal objects mostly before the verb, whereas dependent clause nominal objects approximate the behaviour of main clause objects. The Table 46 illustrates the whole situation:

Table 46. *Juliana* R-Ms: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	90.72	80.95	Vo	86.54	55.96
OV	9.27	19.04	oV	13.45	44.03

Main clauses, on the other hand, do not make a very big distinction between the placement of nominal and pronominal objects after the verb, as both kinds of objects have more or less the same percentages in *Juliana*, whereas

we saw in the earlier texts that there was a greater distinction in main clauses with respect to that. Dependent clauses are as if more conservative and they tend to preserve the old system longer than main clauses, although, as we saw earlier, the changes towards VO may go with a much greater speed in them than in main clauses.

Let us now have a look at what is the situation with the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomenon in the R-Ms. In dependent clauses there are more V2 structures (51.11%) than in main clauses (39.61%) but at the same time there are many more SV2-within-V2 structures in dependent clauses (68.55%) than in main clauses (53.77%). It is not surprising that it is so, because we have already observed this phenomenon in the earlier texts. And in the Table 47 we present the data concerning the development of both main and dependent clause VO word order together with the development of the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 structures in the respective clauses:

Table 47. *Juliana* R-Ms: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses				Dependent clauses			
	V2	SV2	VO	Vo	V2	SV2	VO	Vo
Juliana R-Ms	39.61	53.77	90.72	86.54	51.11	68.55	80.95	55.96

If we look back at the earlier texts it will be observed that there is a further increase in the SV2-within-V2 main clause and dependent clause structures. The conclusion again is that the two phenomena, that is, the development of VO and SV2-within-V2, tend to go hand in hand.

We will now turn to the analysis of another text of the so-called Katherine Group, namely *Ancrene Wisse*.

4.6. Introduction to the analysis of *Ancrene Wisse*

In this section we are going to concentrate upon the analysis of only the oldest manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* which, like *Juliana*, is one of the texts of the so-called Katherine Group. There are as many as eleven versions of the manuscript and the one that we chose for the analysis is the Corpus Christi College Manuscript and it dates to the middle of the thirteenth century. The language in which *Ancrene Wisse* was written is the so-called AB language, a literary dialect of the West Midlands area. *Ancrene Wisse* is a very lengthy work consisting of the Preface, describing the outline of the work, and eight parts that treat on different matters connected with the life of an anchoress.

In our analysis, however, we are going to concentrate only upon the Preface and Part Two. It is going to be a comparative analysis whereby we will compare the results obtained for each of the two samples in order to see if they differ in any significant way.

4.6.1. Word order in *Ancrene Wisse*

As regards the results obtained for the behaviour of all kinds of objects, both nominal and pronominal, in the Preface the VO main clause word order configurations constitute a very substantial part, as there are 91.66% of them, whereas the OV word orders constitute only 8.33% of all of the investigated VO/OV main clause word orders. In Part Two, on the other hand, the situation is quite analogical, as there are 88.37% of VO main clause word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 11.62%. As far as dependent clause word orders are concerned, in the Preface there are 78.57% of VO configurations, whereas the OV word orders constitute 21.42%. In Part Two, on the other hand, the situation is exactly analogical to the one found in the Preface, as there are 78.88% of VO dependent clause word orders, whereas the OV word orders constitute 21.11%. Below we present the data that we obtained for both main and dependent clauses:

Table 48. *Ancrene Wisse*, the Preface and Part 2: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders

Text	Main	Number	Percent	Dependent	Number	Percent
AW Pref	VO	33	91.66	VO	33	78.57
AW P2	VO	266	88.37	VO	198	78.88
AW Pref	OV	3	8.33	OV	9	21.42
AW P2	OV	35	11.62	OV	53	21.11

Because of such a big similarity between the Preface and Part Two of *Ancrene Wisse* with respect to both main clause and dependent clause word order configurations, we decide at this point to abandon our practice of comparing the two text samples further. From now on we will take into account the two samples combined with each another (we will call it *Ancrene Wisse* or simply AW) and expect to obtain more or less the same results as when we were analysing the two samples separately. If we treated the two samples as one we would obtain the following data for the behaviour of all kinds of objects in both main and dependent clauses:

Table 49. *Ancrene Wisse*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

AW	VO word order configurations				OV word order configurations			
	main		dependent		main		dependent	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Pref	33	91.66	33	78.57	3	8.33	9	21.42
P2	266	88.37	198	78.88	35	11.62	53	21.11
Total	299	88.72	231	78.83	38	11.27	62	21.16

According to our calculations, in *Ancrene Wisse* there are around 90% of main clause VO word orders, whereas in dependent clauses there are around 80% of them. If compared with the text of *Juliana*, it will be observed that there are slightly more main clause VO word order configurations in *Ancrene Wisse*. However, if we look at the dependent clause word orders of the two texts, we will observe that in *Ancrene Wisse* the number of VO word orders rises by 10%, which is a significant number. It means that the text of *Ancrene Wisse* is more advanced with respect to the development of VO word order configurations, and the more so in dependent clauses.

As far as the behaviour of main clause pronominal objects with respect to the verb is concerned, we discovered that there are 82.07% of word order configurations where pronominal objects are placed ofter the verb, whereas the configurations where pronominal objects appear before the verb constitute 17.92%. As for the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, on the other hand, there are more of them that appear after the verb than pronominal objects: the nominal objects that appear after the verb constitute 92.30%, whereas the ones that go before the verb constitute 7.69% of the total of the nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb. On the basis of our analysis we can say that in the main clauses of *Ancrene Wisse* there are still not as many pronominal objects placed after the verb as there are nominal objects but the general tendency is that there are more and more VO word order configurations no matter if the object is pronominal or nominal. As far as the behaviour of pronominal objects in dependent clauses is concerned, we found out that there are fewer of them being placed after the verb than in main clauses, but nevertheless the VO structures are the majority, as there are 64.22% of pronominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the ones that appear before it constitute 35.77%. As for the behaviour of nominal objects, on the other hand, the situation is quite comparable to that of the main clauses, and there are 89.83% of nominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas the ones that go before the verb constitute 10.16% of the total of dependent clauses nominal objects appearing either before or after the verb.

In the Table 50 we compare both main and dependent clauses giving the data for the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects to further illustrate the whole situation:

Table 50. *Ancrene Wisse*: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	92.30	89.83	Vo	82.07	64.22
OV	7.69	10.16	oV	17.92	35.77

As can be seen, dependent clauses still lag behind main clauses in the number of VO word order configurations but the number of objects placed after the verb is steadily growing. This observation refers particularly to the placement of pronominal objects, as there are still relatively many dependent clause pronominal objects that are placed before the verb, and their number amounts to nearly 36%, whereas in main clauses their number amounts to nearly 18%. As far as the position of nominal objects is concerned, on the other hand, the difference between main clauses and dependent clauses is smaller and smaller and starts to be blurred almost completely.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, we obtained the following data for both main and dependent clauses of *Ancrene Wisse*. In both main and dependent clauses the number of V2 structures is basically the same (around 50%) but the two types of clauses differ considerably with respect to the number of the SV2-within-V2 structures: in main clauses there are 60.33% of them, whereas in dependent clauses their number is much higher and it amounts to 86.34%.

If we compare the data obtained for both *Juliana* and *Ancrene Wisse* with respect to the number of VO main and dependent clause word orders, and the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, we can conclude that the two texts differ a little. We will now have a look at the Table 51 for comparison:

Table 51. *Ancrene Wisse* and *Juliana*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
Juliana R-Ms	39.61	53.77	87.70	86.54	90.72	51.11	68.55	71.26	55.96	80.95
AW	50.95	60.33	88.72	82.07	92.30	51.07	86.34	78.83	64.22	89.83

As can be seen, in *Ancrene Wisse* there are more main clause SV2-within-V2 structures than in *Juliana*, and at the same time there are slightly more VO word order configurations where the object is nominal; however there are more VO main clause word orders in *Juliana* where the object is pronominal. The two texts differ basically in the area of dependent clauses: there are generally more VO word orders in *Ancrene Wisse* than in *Juliana*, and this observation refers to both nominal and pronominal objects. At the same time there are many more SV2-within-V2 dependent clause structures in *Ancrene Wisse* than in *Juliana*. On the basis of the data that we have obtained for the two texts we can conclude that *Ancrene Wisse* was written later than *Juliana* and that this text is more 'modern' with respect to word order. Moreover, it is interesting to note that on the basis of the analysis of the two texts we can again observe that the change towards VO in main clauses was relatively slow but steady, whereas in dependent clauses it was much more dynamic.

4.7. The analysis of the *Prose Treatises* of Richard Rolle de Hampole

In this section we are going to analyse some part of the *Prose Treatises* (PT) of Richard Rolle de Hampole, namely more or less the first thirty pages that can be found in the *Middle English Compendium*. Richard Rolle was born around 1290 in Thornton, Yorkshire, and died in 1349. At the age of around nineteen he left Oxford University, at which he had been studying, and decided to be a hermit. He wrote in the Northumbrian dialect and his writings were mainly intended to teach uneducated people in the fourteenth century.

According to our calculations in the main clauses there are 93.75% of VO word order configurations, where both nominal and pronominal are taken into account, whereas the OV word order configurations constitute 6.25%. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, the number of VO word orders is more or less the same as in main clauses, and they amount to 95.48%, whereas the OV word orders constitute only 4.51%. Out of the total of pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb in main clauses there are 93.10% of pronominal objects that occur after the verb, whereas those that occur before the verb constitute 6.89%. As to the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, we found out that the situation is again analogical to the one regarding the behaviour of pronominal objects in the same type of clauses, namely there are 94.29% of nominal objects appearing after the verb, whereas only 5.70% of them appear before it. As far as dependent clauses are concerned,

according to our calculations out of the total of pronominal objects appearing either before or after the verb there are 90.58% that appear after the verb, whereas 9.41% appear before it. As for the behaviour of nominal objects in dependent clauses, on the other hand, there are 97.46% of them that appear after the verb, whereas 2.53% of them occur before it.

If we take all the data respecting the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects obtained for both main and dependent clauses, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 52. *Prose Treatises*: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	94.29	97.46	Vo	93.10	90.58
OV	5.70	2.53	oV	6.89	9.41

One of interesting observations here is that, as far as nominal objects are concerned, there are slightly more VO word order configurations in dependent clauses than in main clauses. The difference is not so high but it is generally expected that there should be more VO word orders in main clauses than in dependent ones. This deviation, however, is due to the fact that main clauses are generally more direct than dependent clauses, and thus they are more likely to employ some emphatic strategies whereby the object is placed before the verb, whereas dependent clauses are more likely to be conditioned by the sentence structure. Let us have a look at some main clauses below where the object is placed in front of the verb for emphatic reasons:

(4.1) þan has þou parfyte charyte to þi eeuenristen. **Þis charyte** had saynt Sthephane parfytely when he prayde for þaim þat stanyd hym to dede
PT 104

(4.2) **Þis charyte** consayld Crist til all þat wald be hys parfite folowers, when he sayd þus
PT 104

(4.3) **All þis charite** schewid Crist to Iudas, wilke he knew for dampnable, In no manere of fenyng ne flateryng, bot in southfastnes of gud luf & clene charyte
PT 105

Another interesting observation here is that, whereas in main clauses the behaviour of nominal and pronominal objects is basically the same, in depen-

dent clauses the number of VO word order configurations where the object is pronominal is lower than the number of VO configurations where the object is nominal. This observation, therefore, testifies to the fact that at the beginning of the fourteenth century dependent clause pronominal objects were still lagging behind nominal objects respecting the position after the verb.

As regards the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in main clauses, according to our calculations there are 56.02% of V2 structures out of which the structures that have the subject in the first position constitute 60.38%. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is analogical to the one found in main clauses but only with respect to the V2 structures, which constitute 56.37%. As far as the SV2-within-V2 dependent clause structures are concerned, the situation is much different from that in main clauses and they constitute 94.13% of the total of dependent clause V2 structures. If we compare the behaviour of both main and dependent clause nominal and pronominal objects with the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 53. *Prose Treatises*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
Treatises	56.02	60.38	93.75	93.10	94.29	56.37	94.13	95.48	90.58	97.46

An interesting observation here is that, when compared with the text of *Ancrene Wisse* for example, there is a slight increase in main clause V2 structures, the number of SV2-within-V2 structures being quite the same. Moreover, the number of pronominal objects placed after the verb increases significantly, namely from 82% to 93%, that is, by 10%. As for dependent clauses, on the other hand, there is not only an increase in the V2 structures but also in the SV2-within-V2 ones. There is also a considerable increase in the placement of both nominal and pronominal objects after the verb, the more so as regards pronominal objects.

4.8. The analysis of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Astrolabe*

In this section we are going to analyse the entire text of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* written by Geoffrey Chaucer. The author was born around 1343 in London and died in 1400, and is considered to be the principal English writer of the mediaeval period. It needs to be mentioned that Chaucer

knew French very well but he wrote in English and thus made a very important contribution to the English literature at the time when Anglo-Norman and Latin were used to write much of the court poetry. Furthermore, 'part of professional middle classes in the fourteenth century, Chaucer recognised the potential for consolidating and enhancing the literary prestige of English, and all his major works represent a masterly exploitation of the creative possibilities of the native tongue' (Treharne 2004: 584).

After having analysed the text of the *Astrolabe* we found out that there are 97.89% of word order configurations in main clauses, the objects being both nominal and pronominal, whereas the OV word orders constitute 2.10%. As far as dependent clauses are concerned there are somewhat fewer VO word order configurations and they constitute 93.07% of the total of both pronominal and nominal dependent clause objects appearing either before or after the verb. The OV word orders, on the other hand, constitute 6.92%. One of the conclusions here therefore is that there are slightly more VO word order configurations in main clauses than in dependent ones.

Now we will have a look at the behaviour of pronominal objects alone. According to our calculations, in main clauses there are 96.55% of pronominal objects that appear after the verb, whereas 3.44% appear before it. As for the behaviour of main clause nominal objects, there are 98.16% of those that are placed after the verb, whereas 1.83% appear before it. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, we found out that there are many more pronominal objects that appear before the verb than in main clauses, as there are only 66.66% of them appearing after the verb, whereas 33.33% occur before it. As regards dependent clause nominal objects the situation is much the same as in main clauses, as according to our calculations there are 97.36% of them that are placed after the verb, whereas 2.63% appear before it. If we compare the behaviour of both pronominal and nominal objects in both main and dependent clauses, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 54. *Astrolabe*: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	98.16	97.36	Vo	96.55	66.66
OV	1.83	2.63	oV	3.44	33.33

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, there are 53.30% of V2 structures in main clauses, and the subject is placed in the first position in 37.24% of the total of V2 structures. In dependent clasues, the situation is slightly different as regards the V2 structures, as there are

60.05% of them here but the SV2-within-V2 structures constitute as much as 84.46%, which is incomparably more than in main clauses. And in the Table 55 we present how the data obtained for the behaviour of both main and dependent clause pronominal and nominal objects compare with the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena:

Table 55. *Astrolabe*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
Astrolabe	53.30	37.24	97.89	96.55	98.16	60.05	84.46	93.07	66.66	97.36

If we compare the *Astrolabe* with the *Prose Treatises* of Richard Rolle, we will observe that there are fewer SV2-within-V2 structures in the main clauses of the *Astrolabe* than in the *Treatises*. In the dependent clauses of the *Astrolabe* there are also fewer SV2 structures within the V2 structures than in the *Treatises* but the difference here is not as high as in the main clauses. Moreover, unlike in main clauses, there are more V2 structures in the dependent clauses of the *Astrolabe* than in the dependent clauses of the *Treatises*. Yet another observation concerning the comparison of the two texts is that, whereas in the main clauses of the *Astrolabe* there is a slight increase in the placement of both pronominal and nominal objects after the verb, there is a considerable decrease of VO dependent clause word order configurations where the objects are pronominal. However, as far as dependent clause nominal objects are concerned, the number of VO word order configurations is quite the same in both texts. That in the text of the *Astrolabe* there is such a considerable increase in OV word orders with the object being pronominal can be due to the fact that Chaucer knew the French language very well, and French generally preferred to place pronominal objects before the verb and especially in dependent clauses. We will draw more conclusions as to the possible influences of the French language upon English when we have analysed the text of the Anglo-Norman *Foedera*. In the meantime, we will have a look at the data concerning the text of Wycliffe's *Bible*.

4.9. The analysis of the Wycliffe's *Bible* (WB1)

In this section we are going to concentrate upon the analysis of a few chapters taken from the text of the *Bible* written by John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century. The chapters that we will take into account here are the

same ones that underwent our analysis while we were analysing the Gothic, Old English and Old High German versions of the Bible, namely Luke 1 and 2 and Matthew 6 and 8. This procedure will not only allow us to see what was the word order like at the time when Wycliffe lived, but also it will be possible to make a parallel comparison of the data concerning word order obtained for the text of Wycliffe's *Bible* and the data obtained for the other biblical texts that we analysed in Chapter 2 of this book.

To start with, one of the most interesting things that we found in Wycliffe's *Bible* is that there is a considerable increase of prepositional objects as compared with earlier texts. This undoubtedly testifies to the fact that with the passage of time inflexion was being replaced by prepositions, which at the same time signified more analytical structures towards the end of the mediaeval period of English than in its earlier phases. What is also interesting is that none of the objects, be it pronominal or nominal, appeared before the verb in non-imperative statements. So the conclusion is that the loss of inflexion, the development of analytical prepositional objects, as well as a decisive change to basic VO word order are mutually related.

In the Table 56 we present the general behaviour of all kinds of main clause objects, both nominal and pronominal Wycliffe's *Bible*:

Table 56. WB1: all VO and OV word orders in main clauses

Word order configurations	Number of objects	Percent
Total of VO main clauses	164	99.39
Total of OV main clauses	1	0.60
Total	165	100.00

It is interesting to note here that all of the objects appear after the verb except one which is a nominal object. The object that appears before the verb is in the imperative mood, and we can say that such word order was used for emphasis here. Otherwise the object would most likely have appeared after the verb. Therefore, it can be said that 100% of the objects go after the verb, whereas 0% occur before it. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is much the same, and 100% of the investigated objects appear after the verb too. That all the objects appear in the position after the verb even in dependent clauses testifies to the fact that there was a very strong tendency to VO in the text. This implies that Wycliffe's *Bible* is a free translation from the original text, whose influence seems to be very minimal, if one can speak of any influence at all.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena are concerned, we obtained the following data: in main clauses there are 46.94% of V2 structures and the subject occupies the first position in 80.47% of them, whereas

in dependent clauses there are 62.88% of V2 structures and the subject occupies the first position in 95.08% of them. Therefore, again one of the implications here is that the OV-to-VO change and XV2-to-SV2 change are connected with each other, and one implies the other. It is quite logical for the two processes to be related because when an OV language starts to lose inflexion in both nouns and verbs, the word order starts to become more and more iconic whereby the first position is more likely to be occupied by the subject in order to avoid ambiguities in the interpretation of the relation of sentence elements.

And finally, due to the fact that the word order in Wycliffe's *Bible* is 100% VO as far as the position of both nominal and pronominal objects with respect to the verb is concerned, we are not going to analyse any more texts coming from the subsequent periods of the history of the English language. Moreover, we expect that quite similar results would be obtained for texts belonging to the New English period because from then onwards English started to be a true VO language as far as the position of both nominal and pronominal objects with respect to the verb is concerned.

4.10. Anglo-Norman: how much of influence upon the English word order?

4.10.1. The socio-linguistic background

In this section we are going to establish the degree to which the French language influenced the word order in English after the Norman Conquest. We are going to analyse an Anglo-Norman text, namely *Foedera*, and we will discuss the implications of our analysis, but before we do that analysis, we will give an outline of the linguistic situation that existed at that time in England and say a few words about what some linguists claim about the importance of Norman French in the development of the English language.

After the death of Edward the Confessor in January 1066, his brother-in-law, Harold, was made king. When the news reached William, the Duke of Normandy, whom, it is believed, Edward had promised the kingdom of England, he decided to conquer England and assume the royal reigns of power. William was Edward the Confessor's second cousin and at the same time was his closest living relative, so he felt himself entitled to have full rights

to the English throne. After the battle of Hastings in 1066 it took him four more years to subdue the whole country. Since William came to the English throne through military conquest, the history names him William the Conqueror. His conquest had a tremendous impact on the social and linguistic situation of England.

Due to the fact that many members of the English higher class lost their lives at Hastings, there followed the introduction of new nobility from Normandy. As regards smaller landowners they could keep their estates for some time; soon after all large estates and important positions went to the hands of Normans or other foreigners. The Normans dispatched their troops around various places of England in order to control the conquered by military force. To do that, large numbers of troops were needed and during the reign of William, and his immediate successors, there is a constant increase in their number. Also the church was influenced by the conquest and important church positions were occupied by Norman clergymen. Another influential group of people who arrived in England and settled in several cities after the conquest was a considerable number of merchants and craftsmen. Apart from military people, clergymen and business people, there came to England large numbers of people from court and aristocracy. They brought with them new customs and learning; they were people who were keen on tournaments, luxury, arts, chivalry and literature.

The aforementioned groups of people, Fisiak (2000) observes, exerted an influence which went far beyond their numerical strength, since they were the people who ruled both the country and the church. After the year 1066, when the Normans settled in England, they continued to speak Norman French. It was a French dialect different from the French of Paris. The Norman aristocracy had a rather indifferent attitude towards the English language. Besides, large numbers of noblemen decided to spend more time in England, so they, it can be assumed, had to pick up some English in order to understand it. It also seems reasonable to assume that the generations born in the twelfth century reached some degree of bilingualism. In spite of this French continued to be used for everyday communication among people coming from the upper classes long beyond the year 1200. Moreover, as Fisiak (2000) points out, some fifty years after the Norman invasion people had adjusted to the existing situation. The hostile attitude of the English population generally faded away and there was a lot of social and political interaction between the English and the French. There were frequent marriages of Normans to English women, and thanks to the mixed marriages natural settings for bilingualism were created. French names were given to children by English families, more and more Englishmen joined the army and Norman nobility started to identify themselves with the new country. On the whole, the fusion of the two people proceeded quite rapidly.

Although the English language was less prestigious, it was used side by side with French from 1066 to 1200, and it functioned continuously in social, cultural and other spheres. In the bilingual setting the English language began to undergo serious changes due to the influence of Norman French. Fisiak (1977) notes that the situation after the Norman Conquest differed considerably from the English-Scandinavian one, because English and French were mutually unintelligible and, in order to attain a degree of bilingualism, conscious learning was necessary. Moreover, the French-English bilingualism, apart from being an ethnic problem, was also a social one, as French was spoken by the Norman upper and middle classes in everyday use, in law courts, churches and in the army, whereas English was basically spoken by the English population on all occasions. According to Fisiak (1977: 252), 'throughout the Middle English period no more than 10% of the population used both English and French.' But the position of French being a prestigious one, the transfer of the French element into English was facilitated on a large scale. After the loss of Normandy by King John in 1204, the number of the French speakers who were monolingual began to diminish, while the number of bilingual speakers increased for a time but during the fourteenth century it began to decline steadily.

Although in the thirteenth century there was a rise of interest in French in some circles of society, it was rivalled by a conscious opposition to what was French, including the language, as a consequence of the growth of national feelings especially during the Barons Wars (1258—1265). The opposition was further strengthened by the Hundred Years War which lasted with occasional long breaks from 1337 to 1453. In the British people the feeling of patriotism and nationalism was strengthened as they were fighting the enemy whose language was French. Also the outbreak of The Black Death (1348—1400) took its toll among bilingual speakers, and therefore contributed to the decrease in the number of the users of French. Thus after gaining some degree of popularity, French began to lose it steadily, though at a different rate through time and society; actually until the development of Standard English, whose immediate source, it is believed, was the London English of the fourteenth century.

The most significant change which was brought about in the grammar of Early Middle English was, as Nist (1976) observes, the general reduction of inflections. In general terms, the final *-m* in dative constructions of strong declensions changed to *-n*, which, in turn, disappeared from the inflection (in nouns, adjectives, as well as in the infinitive forms of the verb). After the loss of *-n* the remaining vowels (*a*, *o*, *u*, *e*), which were now not supported by any final consonant and stood in the non accented position, lost their phonetic colouring and became the 'indeterminate' schwa, which was graphically equated with the letter *e* (or on occasion *i*, *y* or *u*); and which

eventually fell silent. The morphological simplification was the cause of the establishment of *-s* as the distinctive form of the possessive singular and the nominative and accusative plural in the noun. With *-es* as an alternate form of the plural in the strong declension and *-en* in the weak, the case endings of nouns were considerably reduced. The inflections for both case and number were completely destroyed in some instances. As for the adjective, the nominative singular soon dominated all cases in the singular, and the nominative plural came to dominate all cases in the plural. The weak declension of the adjective was also affected: both singular and plural ended in *-e* and hence number did not make a distinction any longer. The same *-e* ending was supported by the strong declension of the adjective. With the levelling of inflections, the function, and therefore the meaning of syntactic elements had to be indicated by some other means, namely a fixed word order was established as the chief determinant of function in an analytic syntax. Through the development of fixed word order, the use of prepositions and auxiliaries, Middle English achieved the bases of Modern English syntax by the time of the reign of Henry VII (1485—1509), the first king of the Tudor Dynasty. With such syntax, grammatical gender gave way to natural gender, as the strong adjectives and the demonstratives were reduced to one uninflected form; both the adjectives and demonstratives had been gender-distinguishing modifiers.

The effects of levelling in the verb system of Early Middle English were less spectacular than in nouns, pronouns, an adjectives. After the Norman Conquest a general reduction of the strong verbs (which had always constituted a minority) can be observed. During the Early Middle English period at least one-third of the OE strong verbs disappeared from usage (more than a hundred of them), and nearly another hundred of them disappeared in further evolution of the language, whereas a good number of them have been regularised.

The changes in grammar were accompanied by a huge influx of Norman-French vocabulary items. The Normans formed the upper class and their language was aristocratic as a consequence of this. The cultural leadership of the Normans is evident in the terminology of church, government, military establishment, legal system, master-servant relationships, cuisine, fashion, leisure-time activities, commerce and the arts (Nist 1976). The English culture was not as rich as that of the Normans, and thus there was a strong need for these early Norman loans. Most of them entered the English language before 1350 and, beside remaining in use, have achieved the force of native stock. Apart from borrowing single words, the English language acquired numerous expressions like: *plenty of*, *because of*, *to take leave*, *to hold one's place*, *to do justice*, *to make believe*, *according to*, *subject to*, *in vain*, *by heart*, *at large*, etc. The role of Latin in the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries was foreshadowed by the competition between English and French, but there were many words which were of Latin origin and entered the English vocabulary via French (Nist 1976).

4.10.2. Some facts concerning the word order of Anglo-Norman based on the comparison of *Foedera* and its Latin counterpart

And now we will turn to our own analysis of a few pages taken from the text of *Foedera*, an Anglo-Norman text dating to the second half of the thirteenth century, as well as of a few psalms taken from the *Oxford Psalter* dated to the first half of the twelfth century. However, since we observed that in the psalms there is much Latin influence, we are not going to analyse them for word order but we will just take a few examples from them to illustrate the areas of Anglo-Norman word order which cannot be illustrated just on the basis of the entries of *Foedera*. By the analysis of *Foedera* we expect to arrive at some conclusions as to whether there existed any sort of French infuence upon the word order of English. We are basically going to concentrate upon the entries 1259 and 1279 because these two entries have their counterparts in Latin, which fact greatly facilitated our understanding and encoding of the Anglo-Norman text. These two entries were most likely written in Anglo-Norman first and then translated into Latin. We made this observation on the basis of the introductory sentence to the Latin text following the entry 1279. The sentence goes as follows: *Eadem confirmatio Latine reddita*. Moreover, although the Latin text was written second, it is crucial for a better understanding of the word order of Anglo-Norman in the sense that it is not a word for word translation of the Anglo-Norman text, as there are many regular word order differences between the two languages. We will now spend a few moments upon the analysis of the most interesting differences between Anglo-Norman and Latin that the texts analysed by us offer.

One of the regular word order differences between the two languages is the placement of possessive pronouns in front of the modified noun in Anglo-Norman, whereas in Latin possessive pronouns are normally postposed after the modified noun:

(4.4) Derechief, apres le deces la contesse de Poitiers, nos, ou nostre heir Roi de France, donrons au Roi d'Angleterre, ou a **ses heires**, la terre
Foedera; 1259: IV

Item, post decessum comitissæ Pictaviæ, nos, & hæredes nostri Reges Franciæ, donamus Regi Angliæ & ***hæredibus suis*** *terram*,

(4.5) e sauf ce que li Rois d'Angleterre puisse demander **sa droiture**

Foedera; 1259: VII

& excepto hoc quod Rex Angliæ possit petere ***droyturam suam***,

(4.6) ilz jurront qu'il ne donront ne conseil, ne force, ne aide, par quoi li Roi d'Angleterre, ne **si heir** venissent encontre la pais

Foedera; 1259: X

ipsi jurabunt quod ipsi non dabunt consilium, nec fortitudinem, nec adjutorium, propter quod Rex Angliæ, vel ***hæredes sui*** *venirent contra pacem*

Unfortunately, in *Foedera* we did not find any examples of adjectival modification where the adjective is not a possessive pronoun. We did, however, find one example of such type of modification in the *Oxford Psalter*, in Psalm XVII:

(4.7) Kar tu le **humele pople** salf feras, e les oilz des orguillus humilieras

Psalm XVII: 30

Quia tu ***populum pauperem*** *salvabis et oculos excelsos humiliabis*

It can be seen that Anglo-Norman generally preferred to place the modifiers in front of the modified elements. This observation may be the answer to why the English language did not get rid of premodification in the Middle Ages and still preserves this feature; premodification is generally said to be a feature of OV languages and English was basically VO already in the Early Middle Ages, so it should be expected that it should have lost this feature at that time too together with the loss of other characteristics that are generally considered to be typical of OV languages. Therefore, it can be concluded that Anglo-Norman played its part in the preservation of premodification in English up to the present day.

Another interesting difference between Latin and Anglo-Norman is the placement of pronominal objects. In Anglo-Norman, pronominal objects, especially if they are atonic, are placed in front of the verb. In Latin, on the other hand, pronominal objects are generally placed after the verb:

(4.8) d'ont il **nos** doit **faire** homage lige par ceste pais

Foedera; 1259: VII

unde ipsi debent ***nobis facere*** *homagia legia per istam pacem*,

(4.9) la quele **nous estoit venue** apres le deces nostre oncle Alfons

Foedera; 1279: I

*que **pervenerat ad nos** post decessum avunculi nostri Alfonsi*,

(4.10) Tu **le amenuisas** petit meins de angeles, de glorie e de honur **le corunas**

Psalm VIII: 6

Minues eum** paulo minus a Deo gloria et decore **coronabis eum

In the Anglo-Norman texts there are many other examples of this kind but we think the few ones that we have given here will suffice to illustrate the problem in question. There is also one more interesting example in *Foedera* that drew our attention. It concerns the position of a nominal object:

(4.11) Loois, par la grace de DEU, Rois de France, nos faisons a savoir a tous cels qui sont, e qui seront, que nos, par la volente de DEU, ovec nostre chier cusin, le noble Henri Roi de Angleterre, **avons pais faite**

Foedera; *1259: I*

*Ludovicus, Dei gratiâ, Rex Francorum, notum facimus omnibus præsentibus & futuris, quod nos, voluntate Dei, cum carissimo consobrino, & nobili Rege Henrico de Anglia, **pacem facimus***

As can be seen, in the Anglo-Norman text the object is placed after the inflected verb, whereas in the Latin text it appears before the verb producing an OV configuration. This example testifies to the fact that Anglo-Norman was rather more in favour of the VO word order configurations than the OV ones but we will see if this observation is confirmed by our detailed analysis of *Foedera* that follows below.

4.10.3. The analysis of word order in *Foedera*

We will now go over to the analysis of the text of *Foedera* and see what are the percentages that we were able to obtain with respect to the behaviour of both main and dependent clause objects. We will start with the analysis of main clauses.

According to our calculations, in the main clauses of *Foedera* there are 68% of VO word order configurations, the objects being both nominal and pronominal, whereas the OV word orders constitute 32%. In dependent clauses, on the other hand, the situation is much more varied, as there are only 35.52% of VO word order configurations in them, whereas the OV word orders constitute a vast majority that amounts to 64.47%. As far as the be-

haviour of main clause pronominal objects only is concerned, 50% of them are placed in front of the verb and 50% of them occur before it. As to the behaviour of main clause nominal objects there are many more of them that appear after the verb than pronominal main clause objects, namely there are 81.39% of nominal main clause objects that are placed after the verb, whereas 18.60% occur before it. As far as dependent clauses are concerned, there are 22.58% of pronominal objects that are placed after the verb, whereas 77.41% occur before it. One of the observations here is that in dependent clauses pronominal objects tend to appear more often before the verb than in main clauses. As regards the behaviour of dependent clause nominal objects, according to our calculations there are 50% that appear after the verb and 50% of them occur before it. If we compare the behaviour of both nominal and pronominal objects in both main and dependent clauses, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 57. *Foedera*: comparison of nominal and pronominal main and dependent clause objects with respect to VO and OV configurations (%)

Word order	Nominal objects		Word order	Pronominal objects	
	main	dependent		main	dependent
VO	81.39	50.00	Vo	50.00	22.58
OV	18.60	50.00	oV	50.00	77.41

It is interesting to note that in Anglo-Norman there were quite many OV word order configurations, and the more so in dependent clauses. The situation resembles the one found in the entries 891—1066 of the E-Ms of the *Peterborough Chronicle* in fact. We expected many more VO word order configurations here, however, so what we discovered took us by surprise. One of the implications therefore is that Anglo-Norman influenced the English word order rather indirectly; but we will discuss this problem in more detail in Chapter 5. One of such influences, for example, seems to be the practice of placing pronominal objects in front of the verb especially in dependent clauses. If we have a look at the situation in the text of the *Astrolabe* in this respect and compare it with some earlier texts, we will see that the development of VO word order configurations, where the object is pronominal, was halted in dependent clauses. This may be due to the fact that Chaucer knew French quite well and this influenced the way he wrote in English. However, it is an observation made upon an analysis that covers only a very restricted number of texts and authors, and in order to arrive at some more reliable observations it would be necessary to take into account a bigger range of texts from different regions and periods, as well as written by various authors.

As far as the V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in *Foedera* are concerned, according to our calculations there are 38.70% of V2 structures in main clauses. Out of the total of main clause V2 structures there are 55.55% that have the subject in the first position. As to dependent clauses the number of V2 structures is slightly higher than in main clauses and it amounts to 48.80%. Moreover, out of the total of dependent clause V2 structures there 64.70% of SV2 structures, whereas the XV2 structures constitute 35.29%. If we gather together the data obtained for the V2, the SV2-within-V2 and the VO phenomena, we will obtain the following picture:

Table 58. *Foedera*: comparison of main and dependent clause word orders (%)

Text	Main clauses					Dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO	V2	SV2	all VO	Vo	VO
Foedera	38.70	55.55	68.00	50.00	81.39	48.80	64.70	35.52	22.58	50.00

Comparing V2 and the SV2-within-V2 phenomena in both main and dependent clauses of *Foedera*, we can see that the situation is similar to that found in *Juliana*; as to the VO word order configurations in both main and dependent clauses, to remind, the situation is similar to that found in the entries 891—1066 of the E-Ms of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. The conclusion therefore is that *Foedera* offers us quite a varied picture of word order configurations that cannot readily be compared to any single text that we have so far analysed. This observation further supports our view that Anglo-Norman must have influenced the English language rather indirectly.

Chapter 5

The trajectory of word order change in English

5.1. Conclusions

In this chapter we are going to make some concluding remarks concerning our analysis of word order tendencies in English. Before we do that, we will say a few words about what some authors claim concerning the problem of whether the locus of the change towards VO is in the main or in the dependent clauses. Next we will try to give our own opinion on that problem while discussing the question of the possible path of word order change in English.

5.2. The locus of VO spread: main vs subordinate clauses

There is much discussion as to whether the change from OV to VO takes place first in main clauses or subordinate ones. In the literature we can find opinions in favour of both possibilities.

LIGHTFOOT (1976), in considering the word order changes which occurred independently in most of the IE languages, observes that the SOV-to-SVO change characteristically took place first in main clauses and later in subordinate clauses. He further says that Basque is undergoing a similar change in word order, and again that main clauses are affected first; in main clauses one can find SOV and SVO orders, but only SOV order in relative clauses.

Givon (1976; after Lightfoot 1976: 19) claims that 'main clauses (and in particular declarative-affirmative ones) are the most progressive, innovative environment in language, where innovations are first introduced and from where they spread later on into other environments.' Lightfoot (1991; after McMahon 1994: 132—133) discusses the syntactic phenomena of word order in Dutch, German and Old English. All of them have OV word order. However, unlike in Dutch and German, VO is universal in Modern English main and subordinate clauses. This development was due to new parameter setting. Since in Old English the OV order was on the decline in main clauses, the frequency of VO order increased. English children in the Anglo-Saxon period could not collect enough clues from frequently occurring main clauses in order to set the OV parameter and OV became unlearnable. Instead, the innovated VO word order provided enough input for resetting the parameter into VO both in embedded and in main clauses. It was a gradual process but a steady one. Together with the new parameter resetting there occurred an underlying change deep in the grammar. This change, in turn, caused a sudden change on the surface. Lightfoot (1991) notes that although until 1122 an average 66% of embedded clauses were OV, there is a sharp decline in their number in the period 1122—1140; that is, down to about 11%. However, such a rapid reduction in embedded OV order can be the result of parameter resetting if children are degree-O learners. Otherwise, they would set parameters according to the subordinate clause data and this would result in plenty of robust OV structures up to the twelfth century since the process of parameter resetting would have been inhibited. Furthermore, Hock (1986) notes that it took several more centuries before the word order of the main clauses was obligatorily extended to subordinate ones. This was due to the fact that dependent clauses are more 'conservative' than main clauses in syntactic change, and that main clauses are more frequent. Jucker (1990), on the other hand, suggests that subordinate clauses were not conservative but rather the leading domain in the change to ModE word order. He bases his views upon the analysis of a manuscript that stands at the turning point in the history of the English language, namely the text of *Ancrene Wisse*. Jucker claims that his discoveries are in keeping with Stockwell and Minkova (1990) who argue that the ModE SV syntax was established in subordinate clauses between 1200 and 1300 but it was not fully implemented until well after 1400 in main clauses; main clauses in Chaucer still show a consistent V-2 syntax whereas in Wycliffe main clause syntax is mainly SV as in ModE.

On the basis of the above discussion it can be concluded that all the authors give quite reasonable arguments to support their views. So at the one extreme we have opinions that are in favour of the main clause being responsible for the spread of the OV-to-VO change and other word order changes, and at the other extereme those that are in favour of the subordi-

nate clauses being responsible for the changes in question. Pintzuk (1993; after Molencki 1997: 31), however, offers us sort of a compromise between the two extremes. She talks about the so-called 'Constant Rate Hypothesis', whereby she demonstrates that in Old English the structure of both main and subordinate clauses was more or less the same and therefore the change of the finite verb from clause-final to clause-medial position took place at the same rate both in main and subordinate clauses (see also Pintzuk 1995: 229—260).

Since there seems to be a variety of opinions as to whether the change towards VO first took place in main clauses or dependent clauses, we will try to resolve this problem in the section to follow, where we will basically make general conclusions and discuss the implications that come out of our investigations.

5.3. The diachrony of the development of word order in English: from pre-Proto-Germanic to Late Middle English

We will now have a look at the development of word order in English starting from the earliest period of the runic inscriptions and ending with the Late Middle English period. We will not, however, take into account all of the texts that we have analysed in this book but we will choose only those that will allow us to see a clear chronology of word order change. In the Table 59 we present the texts for comparison:

Table 59. RP I, RP II, A pre-891, A 891—1066, ÆFCH, RP III, *Heimskringla*, E 1067—1121, *Foedera*, E 1122—1131, E 1132—1154, *Juliana*, *Ancrene Wisse*, *Prose Treatises*, *Astrolabe*, WB1: diachronic comparison of V2, SV2 and VO patterns in both main and dependent clauses (%)

Text	Word order configurations									
	main clauses					dependent clauses				
	V2	SV2	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO	V2	SV2	all VO	pronominal Vo	nominal VO
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
RP I	44.44	68.75	79.31	0.00	82.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
RP II	80.33	94.60	96.08	75.00	96.84	53.65	27.27	26.66	0.00	36.36
A pre-891	53.86	37.87	52.39	23.88	59.57	38.54	64.86	22.22	5.55	28.94

cont. tab. 59

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
A 891—1066	58.92	24.29	70.89	41.81	81.11	45.70	50.49	28.84	12.50	38.88
ÆFCH	52.10	50.86	72.32	49.01	84.67	56.14	79.04	50.72	18.51	70.83
RP II	80.33	94.60	96.08	75.00	96.84	53.65	27.27	26.66	0.00	36.36
RP III	77.04	91.48	82.00	66.66	93.10	83.33	40.00	25.00	0.00	50.00
Heimskringla	57.45	47.32	94.38	92.85	94.80	75.94	76.66	83.33	100.00	81.81
E 1067—1121	49.33	34.64	52.52	32.47	60.23	42.25	54.82	35.26	10.29	46.93
Foedera	38.70	55.55	68.00	50.00	81.39	48.80	64.70	35.52	22.58	50.00
E 1122—1131	58.65	44.76	70.80	53.84	87.50	60.77	69.09	73.68	46.66	84.78
E 1132—1154	43.67	47.36	80.00	80.76	81.72	62.90	76.92	71.79	66.66	77.41
Juliana	39.61	53.77	87.70	86.54	90.72	51.11	68.55	71.26	55.96	80.95
Ancrene Wisse	50.95	60.33	88.72	82.07	92.30	51.07	86.34	78.83	64.22	89.83
Treatises	56.02	60.38	93.75	93.10	94.29	56.37	94.13	95.48	90.58	97.46
Astrolabe	53.30	37.24	97.89	96.55	98.16	60.05	84.46	93.07	66.66	97.36
WB1	46.94	80.47	99.39	100.00	98.91	62.88	95.08	100.00	100.00	100.00

If we assume that the common Indo-European language was a paratactic language (see e.g. Kiparsky 1995), we can conclude that it was in a less advanced syntactic stage, and this in turn probably implies that it was basically VO. Later on, in the Proto-Germanic period, the language became more advanced from the syntactic point of view, and dependent clauses proper started to develop. Moreover, dependent clauses started to be governed by their own principles, and in consequence they were arranged differently from main clauses. For example, the inflected verb usually went towards the end of the dependent clause, which consequently resulted in OV word order patterns, whereas the main clause word order was still VO. Afterwards, at the end of the Proto-Germanic period and the beginning of the Old English period, dependent clauses became more and more common and they developed more and more OV word orders, which undoubtedly influenced the main clauses which also started to develop OV word order configurations; hence the sudden decrease of VO main clause word orders and the increase of OV word orders in the dependent clauses of the pre-891 entries of the A-manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This process would probably have continued if it had not been halted by the Viking invasion and the introduction of the Old Norse language in the north of England. If we look at RP II and RP III, we will see that Old Norse was predominantly VO in main clauses and that although its dependent clauses still manifested

a lot of OV word orders, they were much less OV than Old English. Moreover, since Old Norse and Old English were mutually understandable, the two languages influenced each other in a very direct way. The linguistic situation started to resemble that of a creole formation and the languages became simplified, which naturally resulted in the emergence of more and more VO word order configurations in Old English typical of creoles, as can be seen in the entries 891—1066 of the A-manuscript. Furthermore, if we compare the data obtained for RP II, RP III and *Heimskringla*, we will see that diachronically looked at, Old Norse was becoming more and more VO at great speed, and especially in dependent clauses. This fact, in turn, implies that a further development of VO word order configurations could be expected in Old English together with the subsequent Viking invasions. On balance, we can conclude that Old Norse influenced the Old English word order to a very significant extent and that word order innovations were basically spreading from the north of England. Moreover, the VO word order configurations continued to develop, as the data obtained for Ælfric's Homily demonstrate. However, the development seems to have been hindered a little in the south by the introduction of Norman French to England after the Norman invasion, whereas the trend towards VO in the north probably continued undisturbed. This picture could probably explain why there is a sudden decrease in VO word order patterns in both main and dependent clauses of the 1067—1121 entries of the E-manuscript, as well as in the dependent clauses of the *Astrolabe*. If we have a look at the data obtained for the Norman French text of *Foedera*, we will see that there are a considerable number of OV word order configurations and especially in the dependent clauses. However, since English and Norman French were not mutually understandable, the hindrance in the further development of VO word order patterns must have most likely come via bilingual speakers who spoke both English and Norman French, and who at the beginning of the Norman Conquest were not so numerous. In other words, at first the Norman French influence could not have been so direct as that of Old Norse. A more direct Norman French influence could have been expected only via the increasing number of bilingual speakers, which could result in more OV structures in English. Nevertheless, Norman French influenced the English language in an indirect way too, which is to say that the English word order continued to change towards VO after the Norman Conquest because of the introduction of yet another language to the mediaeval English society. Since one more language was introduced, it further complicated the already complicated linguistic situation in mediaeval Britain. In other words, the linguistic situation also started to resemble that of a creole formation, as was the case after the Viking invasion, but the simplifications in word order were not so direct as in the Old Norse case. That is to

say, the simplifications were, among others, caused by the introduction of a vast number of Norman French vocabulary resulting in the destruction of the inflectional system of English, which in turn reinforced a further development towards VO in English. That the development continued can be seen in the data obtained for the 1122—1131 entries of the E-Ms (the First Continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*). If we have a look at the data, we will see that there is almost no difference between the number of VO main clause patterns and the number of VO dependent clause patterns in the First Continuation. In other words, whereas the English main clauses at the beginning of the Viking invasion were changing towards VO faster than dependent clauses, at this point in the history of the English language it is the dependent clauses that move towards VO with a greater speed than main clauses, although there are still fewer VO word order configurations in dependent clauses than in main clauses. The reason why dependent clauses suddenly started to change towards VO faster than main clauses is that the high number of VO word order configurations in main clauses undoubtedly caused the dependent clauses to comply, and moreover the complicated linguistic situation meant that the rules according to which dependent clauses were organised in Old English started to be broken on an unprecedented scale and thus they started to display the more natural word order typical of main clauses. In other words, the speed with which dependent clauses were changing towards VO is the result of the fact that they were basically OV not so far back in time and now they made up for the difference with main clauses within a very short time. Such situation may give the impression that it is the dependent clauses that should be held responsible for the loss of OV word order patterns in Old English and not the main clauses. However, it needs to be stressed that main clauses were changing towards VO slowly but steadily and it is them that took the lead in the development towards VO, whereas dependent clauses only followed them in this respect.

If we have a look at the rest of the data obtained for some other English texts from the subsequent periods, we will see that the changes towards VO continued steadily until in the fifteenth century they reached the critical point, that is, when the VO word order configurations constituted 100% in both main and dependent clauses, the objects being both nominal and pronominal. We would like to also draw the attention to the fact that in the change towards VO in both main and dependent clauses it was the nominal objects that were first to move to the position after the verb. Pronominal objects generally tended to lag behind in this process but nevertheless they also reached the point where 100% of them were placed after the verb. In other words, it can be said that pronominal objects were the first to move to the position before the verb and they were the last to leave that position, and the more so in dependent clauses.

It must be said that we are not quite sure to what extent the presented picture of word order change in English is correct because it is a complicated phenomenon. For example, in Old English alone an enormous variety of word orders could be found in different texts which could spoil our ideal picture of word order change considerably, so we omitted some of the texts that did not fit very well within this picture. Nevertheless, we hope that at least a few aspects of our presentation will be of some use.

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Ireneusz Kida

Tendencje w szyku wyrazów średniowiecznej angielszczyzny w kontekście wybranych języków indoeuropejskich

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszej książki jest zaprezentowanie autorskiej metody tworzenia korpusu tekstowego, służącego do badania zmian szyku zdaniowego z OV na VO w języku angielskim oraz w wybranych językach indoeuropejskich, jak również przedstawienie rezultatów wykorzystania tej metody.

W rozdziale pierwszym szczegółowo omówiony został sposób, w jaki konstruowany był nasz korpus. Rozdział drugi poświęcony jest analizie struktury szyku wyrazów w najdawniejszych inskrypcjach runicznych oraz w tekstach najstarszych języków germańskich pisanych prozą, a także omówiony został w nim pragermański szyk zdaniowy. W rozdziale trzecim i czwartym dokonujemy diachronicznej analizy szyku wyrazów, najpierw w języku staroangielskim, a potem w średnioangielskim. Prowadzi nas ona do wniosku, że definitywna zmiana na szyk VO w języku angielskim zaszła w XII i XIII wieku oraz że zmiana na szyk VO generalnie dokonywała się szybciej w zdaniach głównych niż w zdaniach pobocznych. Odkrywamy także, że na pewnym etapie rozwoju języka, a konkretnie we wczesnej średnio-angielszczyźnie, wspomniane zmiany szyku w zdaniach pobocznych stały się bardzo dynamiczne i po pewnym czasie nie było już większych różnic między szykiem wyrazów zdań głównych a pobocznych w okresie średnioangielskim.

W rozdziale trzecim i czwartym dokonujemy analizy tekstów staronordyckich i anglo-normańskich, aby prześledzić, w jakim stopniu języki te przyczyniły się do utraty szyku OV przez język angielski. Jeśli chodzi o język staronordycki, to okazuje się, że miał on ogromne znaczenie w tym procesie, ponieważ w dużo większym stopniu niż w języku staroangielskim dominowała w nim składnia VO, co bezpośrednio przyczyniło się do rozwoju stuktur VO także w języku staroangielskim. Ważnym czynnikiem był tu również fakt, że obydwa języki były do siebie bardzo zbliżone. Język anglo-normański natomiast odegrał olbrzymią rolę w kompletnym załamaniu się angielskiego systemu fleksyjnego oraz ostatecznym wyłonieniu się szyku VO w języku średnioangielskim. Mówimy także o pośrednim wpływie języka anglo-normańskiego na język angielski. W kończącym naszą pracę rozdziale piątym, opierając się na własnej analizie, dochodzimy do końcowych wniosków dotyczących trajektorii zmian szyku wyrazów w języku angielskim w szerszym kontekście niektórych języków indoeuropejskich.

Ireneusz Kida

Les tendances de l'ordre des mots dans l'anglais médiéval dans le contexte des langues indo-européennes choisies

Résumé

Le but de ce livre est de présenter une méthode originale de créer un corpus de recherches textuel qui sert à examiner les changements de l'ordre des mots de OV à VO dans la langue anglaise et dans des langues indo-européennes choisies ainsi que la présentation de l'application pratique de la méthode.

Dans le premier chapitre l'auteur présente précisément comment le corpus a-t-il été construit. Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à l'analyse de structure de l'ordre de la phrase dans des inscriptions runiques les plus anciennes ainsi que dans des textes des plus vieilles langues germaniques en prose ; l'auteur y analyse également l'ordre des mots pré-germaniques. Dans le troisième et le quatrième chapitre l'auteur fait une analyse diachronique d'ordre des mots, d'abord dans le vieil anglais, ensuite dans le moyen anglais. De ces recherches il résulte que le changement définitif vers l'ordre des mots VO avait lieu en XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles et que le changement du VO avait généralement lieu plus vite dans les propositions indépendantes que dans les propositions subordonnées. En plus, l'auteur découvre qu'à une certaine époque du développement de la langue, à savoir à l'aube du moyen anglais, les changements en question devenaient très dynamiques et après un certain temps il n'y avait plus de différences dans l'ordre de la phrase entre les propositions indépendantes et les propositions subordonnées en moyen anglais.

Dans le troisième et le quatrième chapitre l'auteur soumet à l'analyse des textes en vieil islandais et en anglo-normand pour examiner dans quelle direction ces langues provoquaient le déclin de OV dans la langue anglaise. En ce qui concerne le vieil islandais, il jouait un grand rôle dans ce processus puisque l'ordre VO y avait été présent beaucoup plus que dans le vieil anglais. Une facteur importante était le fait que les deux langues étaient très proches l'une à l'autre. La langue anglo-normande contribuait profondément à détruire complètement la flexion anglaise et à faire ressortir l'ordre VO dans le moyen anglais. Cette influence de l'anglo-normand sur la langue anglaise est aussi appelée indirecte. Dans le cinquième chapitre, qui clos cette dissertation, en suivant les résultats de l'analyse, l'auteur conclut sur la trajectoire des changements de l'ordre des mots dans la langue anglaise dans un contexte plus large de certaines langues indo-européennes.

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